DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 364 059 FL 021 365

TITLE	Language and Language Education: Working Papers of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia. Volume 2, Number 1.
INSTITUTION	Australian National Languages and Literacy Inst., Deakin.
PUB DATE	92
NOTE	99p.; For individual articles, see FL 021 366-368 and ED 343 374.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Languages & Literacy Institute of Australia, Limited, Level 3, 112 Wellington Parade, East Melbourne, Victoria 3002 Australia ($15).
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Language and Language Education: Working Papers of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia; v2 n1 1992
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Civil Liberties; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Hebrew; Higher Education; Immersion Programs; Language Fluency; Models; *Public Policy; Second Language Programs; Uncommonly Taught Languages
IDENTIFIERS	*Australia

ABSTRACT

Papers included in this compilation are "Late Hebrew Immersion at Mt. Scopus College Melbourne: Towards Complete Hebrew Fluency for Jewish Day School Students" (S. C. Lorch, T. F. McNamara, E. Eisikovits); "Languages in Schools: Policy and Practice" (Roger A. Peddie); "Models and Sociolinguistic Factors in Some Victorian Second Language Programs: A Progress Report" (Michael Clyne, Catherine Jenkins, Imogen Chen, Melissa Rogerson, Roula Tsokalido); "Language Policy in the Context of Realizing Human Rights and Maximizing National Development" (D. E. Ingram). (JL)

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VOLUME 2 NUMBER 1 1992

LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION

WORKING PAPERS OF
THE NATIONAL LANGUAGES
& LITERACY INSTITUTE OF
AUSTRALIA LIMITED

VOLUME 2

NUMBER 1

1992

THE NATIONAL
LANGUAGES
& LITERACY
INSTITUTE
OF AUSTRALIA

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Language and Language Education:
Working Papers of The National Languages & Literacy Institute of Australia Limited

ISSN 1036 6709

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THE NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND LITERACY INSTITUTE OF AUSTRALIA

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Level 3 112 Wellington Parade
East Melbourne Victoria 3002 Australia

LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EDUCATION

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CONTENTS

S.C. Lorch, T.F. McNamara and E. Eisikovits 1

Late Hebrew immersion at Mt Scopus College, Melbourne: towards complete Hebrew fluency for Jewish day school students

Roger A. Peddie 30

Languages in schools: Policy and practice

Michael Clyne, Catherine Jenkins, Imogen Chen
Melissa Rogerson and Roula Tsokalido 60

Models and sociolinguistic factors in some Victorian second language programs: A progress report

D.E. Ingram 78

Language policy in the context of realizing human rights and maximizing national development

LATE HEBREW IMMERSION AT MOUNT SCOPUS COLLEGE, MELBOURNE: TOWARDS COMPLETE HEBREW FLUENCY FOR JEWISH DAY SCHOOL STUDENTS

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In February 1990, Mount Scopus College launched a late partial (70%) immersion program in Hebrew. Initially, 25 Year 7 students enrolled in the class, and, as 24 of them moved on to Year 8, they were joined at the start of this year by a new intake of 23 Year 7 students. Thus, approximately 50 Mount Scopus students are currently studying the majority of their school subjects in Hebrew: mathematics, science, history, geography, social education, computer science, drama, and pastoral care lessons, in addition of course, to Hebrew and Jewish Studies subjects *per se*. The only subjects which these students are studying in which Hebrew is not the language of instruction are English, a third language (French, Japanese, or Yiddish), art, music, and physical education.

To set the context in which this immersion program is located, it is necessary to digress briefly and to describe Mount Scopus College. Mount Scopus is a large, traditional community Jewish day school in suburban Melbourne, Australia, with an enrolment of 2400 students from pre-school to Year 12. It comprises 6-8 classes of 25-30 students at each year level, one of which, at each of Years 7 and 8, is an immersion class. It is one of nine Jewish day schools (covering the entire ideological spectrum, from haredi to Bundist) in Melbourne with a total combined enrolment of 5400, serving a Jewish community of 45,000.

In terms of its educational program, Mount Scopus has

LLE (1992) 2,1: 1-29

always been modern Orthodox and Zionist in orientation, with a strong emphasis on Hebrew language teaching, but the Hebrew focus has been intensified in recent years, e.g., with the introduction of an *Ivrit B'Ivrit* policy for all classes (1986) and the adoption of the *Madregot* language text series in preference to *Hebrew and Heritage* (1987). Some significant innovations have also taken place in staffing patterns for Hebrew and Jewish Studies, with the strengthening of the recruitment and orientation program for prospective shlichim (1988) and the commencement of a studentship program (1989) to train aspiring local Jewish Studies teachers (Mount Scopus graduates, in the main). While no formal study of the effects of these changes on the Hebrew language proficiency or the Jewish identity of Mount Scopus students has been attempted, there is some informal and anecdotal evidence (performance in Year 12 matriculation examinations in Hebrew and Jewish Studies, rates of enrolment in tertiary Jewish Studies courses, rates of participation in Jewish life on university campuses) that suggests that at least some of these, and other, initiatives in the Hebrew and Jewish Studies areas are having a generally positive effect.

Although the Jewish educational program of the school can be appropriately characterized as modern Orthodox, the segment of the Jewish population of Melbourne which Mount Scopus College serves, cannot. In fact, only a very small proportion of the students and families affiliated with Mount Scopus are religiously observant along modern Orthodox lines as measured by any of the standard criteria of Orthodox practice, e.g., Shabbat and kashrut observance. Typically, Mount Scopus students are not regular synagogue-goers, although many will attend synagogue services on occasion, up to several times a year. Therefore, although the Hebrew language functions as an active cultural and religious value in the communities served by quite a few Jewish schools around the world (and in those schools Hebrew proficiency may be perceived as a key to participation in some of the most highly valued activities and experiences available within the Jewish community), such is not the case at Mount Scopus. Rather, at Mount Scopus Hebrew appears to function for those segments

within a very diverse school community who do value it, more as an abstract cultural value than as a direct and immediate means to a desired cultural end, and certainly not as a sought-after end in itself.

This, then, is the setting in which Hebrew immersion was introduced: a large community school in a location in which well over half the Jewish population send their children to Jewish day schools, a school serving a community possessing at best, only moderate commitment to Jewish culture and tradition, a school in which Hebrew teaching and learning had been actively promoted in a number of ways in the years preceding the introduction of a first immersion class.

THE GENESIS OF A HEBREW IMMERSION PROGRAM

In late 1987, Alan Hoffman of the Melton Center for Jewish Education in the Diaspora, arranged for one of the authors of the paper to meet with Professor Andrew Cohen of the Hebrew University School of Education. Cohen was also a member of the project team of the first immersion program in the United States (a Spanish immersion project in Culver City, California), and he encouraged the author to investigate immersion as a possible strategy for extending the Hebrew proficiency of students at Mount Scopus to unprecedented levels.

Armed with a brief bibliography, the author returned to Melbourne and presented the concept of immersion to the Headmaster of the Primary School and to the Education Sub-committee of the Board of Governors. The proposed immersion program continued as a topic of discussion and investigation for a half year, during which time the views of staff members were canvassed and local and overseas authorities on early childhood education and first and second-language acquisition were consulted. In the end, there was widespread concern that the language development and the psycho-social development of three-year-olds (the age at which the Mount Scopus pre-school commences) who were exposed to an immersion program could be placed at risk, and the proposal was consequently set aside.

Later in 1988, the same author came across one of the authoritative reviews of research on immersion (Genesee, 1987), and discovered upon reading it that immersion was possible at times and ages other than the commencement of formal schooling. In fact, there are three varieties of immersion: early, delayed (or middle), and late, each with its own advantages and disadvantages. Early immersion was the model that Mount Scopus had already considered and rejected. However, delayed immersion, commencing around Year 4, has the advantage of not introducing a heavy concentration on a second language until after the child's first-language skills are already firmly established; and late immersion, beginning at or about Year 7, has the additional benefit of the students actively opting for it and therefore feeling more strongly committed and motivated to succeed. The matter was again raised with the Education Committee, and the late-immersion model was focused on as the most promising alternative.

This time, the Educaton Committee insisted on an even more extensive study and investigation of late Hebrew immersion, apparently as a reaction to their earlier research into and rejection of early immersion. Beginning in March 1989, the author conducted a feasibility study, individually interviewing the parents of 23 Year 6 students who had been identified on the basis of general academic competence and Hebrew proficiency as more likely than the average student to be interested in a challenging enrichment program like Hebrew immersion. Group meetings were also held with the children of parents who had expressed some interest. Parents and students were assured that the program would be monitored very closely both by the school staff and by a team of academics, that the curriculum would be identical, for all intents and purposes, to the educational program of the other Year 7 classes, and that, after a brief lag in their rate of progress through the curriculum, students would catch up, if not by the end of Year 7, then early in Year 8. They were warned, however, that the program was likely to place increased academic demands on them, that students should expect to experience difficulties and frustration in the first few months of the program, and that, if they

chose to enrol in the class, they needed to be committed to persevering in spite of the difficulties. By mid-July, commitments to enroll in the immersion class had been secured from 14 students and their parents from this initial group.

At the same time, approximately 12 teachers were approached and their interest in teaching in an immersion setting was gauged. Eventually, a team of five teachers was selected to share the teaching of subjects being offered in Hebrew. Local and overseas language experts were again contacted, their comments on particular concerns that had been raised (relating to identification and/or adaptation of curriculum materials and teaching aids, and the limited competence in language production in particular of beginning immersion students) were invited, and their commitment to assist the teaching staff in recruiting parents and students, in monitoring and evaluating student progress, and in providing for the teachers' professional development was sought and received.

Various policy issues were considered by the Education Committee, and the following five aims of immersion at Mount Scopus were agreed upon:

1. To provide an appropriate challenge for able students.
2. To develop in students near-native proficiency in Hebrew.
3. To develop in students positive attitudes toward language learning, Hebrew study, native Hebrew speakers, and a stronger identification with Hebrew-based culture.
4. To overcome one of the main hurdles to serious study of Jewish sources in the original (namely, lack of language proficiency), so that Jewish study can proceed at a quantitatively and qualitatively superior level.
5. To enable students to study an externally set curriculum (the Bechinah Yerushalmit) and gain

> advanced standing at the Hebrew University and possbly at local tertiary institutions as well.
> (Mount Scopus College, 1989).

Eventually, after these and several other concerns had been put to rest, the Education Committee and Board of Governors authorized a general approach to all Year 6 parents inviting their expressions of interest in the bilingual class (due to concerns with the harshness of the name "immersion program", the name was changed. Similar rhetorical sensitivity was shown in a number of other instances: "research" became "evaluation", "experimental group" became "bilingual group", "control group" became "comparison group", and so on). In an attempt to ensure the success of the program, students who were below average either in general academic performance or in Hebrew proficiency were discouraged from participating. While it was believed that students of average or above-average ability were likely to thrive in an enriched bilingual setting, and in spite of research evidence favoring the enrolment of students of low intellectual ability in immersion programs in Canada, the Education Committee recommended that the Mount Scopus program be open to most, though not all entering Year 7 students. In practice, of the 26 inquiries about the program that were made, only two were on behalf of students whose potential participation in the bilingual class could have been called into question: one student was significantly weaker in Hebrew proficiency and motivation than the other interested students, and another had a history of serious emotional distress in response to academically stressful situations. Following discussions with the student and the parents in each case, they decided not to pursue their initial interest in the program.

By the end of August, 24 students and their parents had made a formal commitment to join the bilingual class (they were joined by a 25th student who decided to enrol in the class only toward the end of the year). As well, an information session on the proposed bilingual class was held for all teachers in the secondary school, and concerns that they expressed were addressed and resolved.

In September, one of the authors and the teacher who had agreed to be the coordinator of the program travelled together to Canada to see immersion programs there in action and to speak to students, teachers, administrators, consultants, and academics involved in immersion. All in all, five cities were visited, and over 40 classes in 13 schools were observed in session. The visit reinforced the confidence of parents, students, teachers, and Education Committee and Board members at Mount Scopus that immersion could be successful and that, in fact, some of the features that had been built into the Mount Scopus bilingual approach were likely to be a source of great strength, even in comparison to some of the better-established immersion programs in Canada. With internal resistance toward the bilingual class neutralized, planning intensified towards the opening of the first bilingual class, particularly in terms of the selection of curriculum materials and syllabus planning on the part of each of the five teachers.

THE FIRST YEAR : FIELD NOTES

To the pleasant surprise of students, teachers, and parents alike, the year began on a high note. Teachers were impressed with the ability of students to function in Hebrew virtually throughout the day, students surprised themselves with their own abilities, and parents reported that their children were happy and well-motivated at home. Within a month of the start of the year, teachers noted the considerable progress students had already made in their fluency of speech and in their self-confidence in using Hebrew in a variety of settings.

Shortly thereafter, however, the difficulties that had been predicted materialized. Students began to complain about an excessive work load; teachers expressed frustration that students were not able to function more independently in Hebrew yet, particularly in reading passages of subject matter, even when it had been rewritten and simplified; and parents in particular complained about their children being continuously fatigued. Concern was also expressed that the bilingual class was falling behind other classes

in their coverage of the syllabus. In short, the problems that had been predicted were coming to fruition, although only after a brief period of euphoria that had lulled the bilingual program participants into a false sense of security. Specific issues raised by students and parents were addressed to the extent possible, and all concerned were reminded that difficulties of this sort had been anticipated and presented well in advance and that it was only a matter of a few months before students would emerge from this feeling of crisis.

Sure enough, by the end of the first semester in June, nearly all of the students had regained their equilibrium and their positive attitude towards their bilingual class experience. However, two students did leave the class during these difficult months, but their departure was partially offset by an additional student who transferred in. The remaining 24 students are the same group that continued on to Year 8 at the start of this year and remain happily enrolled in the program.

For the students, the latter half of the first year was marked by accelerating progress in each of the academic areas and by the continuing development of increased Hebrew proficiency both in terms of facility and accuracy. Contact with parents continued on a regular, almost monthly basis, and they too expressed increasing satisfaction with the program as their children's confidence, and their own, was restored. The students truly regained their confidence quickly; in fact, just about the only negative feature of the entire second semester was, as the teachers reported, an unhealthy sense of pride, bordering on superiority, that the students as a group began to feel. Considerable time was spent in program staff meetings discussing how best to moderate the students' rapidly improving self-concept, and mechanech lessons and group guidance sessions were devoted to this issue. All in all, however, the year ended on a very positive note.

THE SECOND YEAR : EARLY IMPRESSIONS

As noted previously, a new bilingual group of 23 incoming Year 7 students entered the program at the start of 1991. Their

experience, to date, has proceeded more smoothly, with less volatile shifts in attitude than characterized the first intake group last year. While it is too early to reach any conclusions or to draw any inferences, we believe that the calmer response from students and parents to date may at least partly be a function of the lessons learned by the teachers from last year's experience and their concerted efforts to promote an atmosphere of calm acceptance of the periodic ups and downs associated with this program. This explanation is supported by the *mechanechet* (who is also the Jewish Studies teacher) of the present Year 7 group, who reports that, "as a result of the 1990 experience of the bilingual students having such high self-esteem, we specifically played down this point with the current Year 7's, and they do not have the feeling of superiority as experienced with the first group." (Figdor, 1991) It may also be the case that, having seen one group of students already complete Year 7 successfully, the new group of Year 7 students and parents are less anxious and more controlled in their reactions.

Teachers report that by mid-year, most of the Year 7 students automatically communicate with them in Hebrew both in and out of the classroom. They take it as an expectation that they are to converse in Hebrew with their bilingual teachers in both formal and informal settings. Anecdotal evidence also suggests that students feel confident enough to speak for an extended period of time in front of the class. However, they continue to experience difficulty in reading material in Hebrew not specifically prepared or rewritten for them. This prevents teachers in a number of subject areas from using a standard Israeli textbook for the class and imposes on teachers the additional requirement of preparing booklets and worksheets that adapt the language of Israeli textbooks to the students' reading level. A significant exception to this rule is the Hebrew language class, where the main textbook used is the Grade 4 volume of the *Mifgashim* series.

The Year 8 group also continues to progress well in all areas. At this stage, their Hebrew language skills are quite strong, and they are able to cope with tasks involving demands of increasing

complexity that more closely approximate those appropriate to native language speakers of their age with each passing week.

For example, the teacher who has taught them Hebrew in both Year 7 and Year 8, and who is also their *mechanechet*, reports that the students have made great strides in their listening skills:

> "I cannot forget my first minutes with the class in Year 7 when I began speaking to them and they repeatedly asked me if I could speak more slowly.... This year, I talk at my natural, rapid rate, and there is practically never a situation in which the students don't understand me or ask me to repeat myself."
>
> (Malka, 1991)

Similar progress has been recorded in the students' speaking abilities:

> "In their Hebrew lessons, the students are required to speak about interesting things that happened the previous evening or weekend, and the like. Last year, they found it difficult to produce a complete sentence in Hebrew without sneaking a word of English in, or without getting stuck in the middle and not being able to extricate themselves. Now, the sentences are fluent, using good syntax and without English, the speed with which they speak has increased, and it is simply a pleasure to hear children in the Diaspora speaking so well."

The written expression of the Year 8 students has also progressed over the past 18 months:

> "As opposed to last year, it is much easier to understand and mark their written work. At first, their essays were filled with errors in spelling, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. There was hardly a sentence without an error. The improvement since then is unbelievable:

> complete compositions are submitted with hardly any errors."
>
> "The length of their compositions and of their answers to essay questions in tests has also changed markedly. Before, as it was difficult for them to express themselves, they limited themselves to a few short lines, whereas today, they go beyond the prescribed length of response, continuing their answers on the reverse side of test papers."

Based on the teachers' perceptions, the Hebrew language progress that the students have made must be corsidered a source of great satisfaction. Even the students appreciate and make good use of the proficiency they have developed, often, for example, speaking to each other in Hebrew over the telephone so that their parents won't understand them. Two students have even reported that they've had dreams in Hebrew.

All in all, the view from the field suggests that the bilingual program has been remarkably successful, a conclusion that, as we shall see shortly, is strongly supported by the preliminary findings of the program evaluation that has monitored the progress of the bilingual classes since the time the students first enrolled near the end of Year 6.

In the next part of the paper, the work of the evaluating team will be described. The underlying philosophy and design of the evaluation will be discussed, and the data collected and analyzed so far will be summarized.

The work in this section is the result of collaboration by researchers from two Centres of the National Languages & Literacy Institute of Australia, the Language Testing Centre at the University of Melbourne (Dr. Tim McNamara) and the Language and Society Centre at Monash University, Melbourne (Dr. Edina Eisikovits). Each Centre has received funding from the Australian Government to carry out the evaluation so far, an indication of the national interest in this, the most far-reaching and carefully undertaken immersion program so far attempted in Australia.

DESIGNING THE EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM

When thinking about the design of the evaluation at the beginning of the project, we began with the evaluations of the Canadian immersion programs on which the Mount Scopus program was modelled. Evaluations of these programs have been amply documented, beginning with the well-known book of Lambert and Tucker (1972) on the original St. Lambert programs. Swain and Lapkin (1982) summarize a number of others. Typically, the design of the evaluations is based on a conception of the evaluation as a report on an experiment in the scientific sense, the purpose of which is to establish the success or otherwise of an instance of educational change. The methods, concepts and terms used in the evaluation are drawn from scientific experiments, with 'experimental' and 'control' groups, the need to control variables, and a focus on outcomes. As with all experiments, there is a concern to establish the generalizability of the findings of a particular experiment, that is, the reproducibility of the outcomes in other similar (educational) settings.

The main features of the design of the Canadian evaluations are as follows:

a) Establishment of equivalent bilingual and comparison groups using IQ (and sometimes age) as the variable(s).
b) Testing the bilingual and comparison groups at the beginning of the program and at the end of each year, and comparing the results statistically.
c) Repeating the procedure for successive cohorts of students each year.

The design is intended to enable the researcher to address questions such as the following, which are among those listed by Swain and Lapkin (1982: 16-23):

1. What happens to the development of students' first language (English) skills?

2. Do the immersion students learn more French than students in a core French program? How does their French compare to that of native speakers of French?
3. Are the immersion students able to keep up with their English-educated peers in subject content taught to them in French?
4. Does participation in the immersion program hinder general intellectual or cognitive growth?

...

7. What are the social and psychological consequences of participation in the immersion programs?

However, it was realized that the standard Canadian approach had begun to attract a good deal of criticism on account of its exclusive focus on outcomes, exemplifying as it does a product-oriented approach (Brown, 1989: 224-225; Long, 1984). Criticism of such approaches has been expressed for some time in the general literature on the evaluation of educational programs (e.g., Cronbach, 1982; Cronbach et al. 1980), and more recently it has featured in discussions of the evaluation of foreign language programs specifically (e.g. Mitchell, 1988 and Beretta, 1990, who comments on the lack of data on the process of implementation in the Canadian programmes and the 'almost exclusive concern with outcomes'.[1])

Two main kinds of argument have been advanced in favor of attention to processes. The first, represented by Long (1984), accepts that evaluations are experiments, and argues that observation of processes is required to ensure what is called the internal validity of the experiment; that is, that what you claim is going on in the experimental and control classrooms is actually what is going on there. In other words, you are attempting to guarantee that the methods you are contrasting actually differ in the way you claim they do. Examples of threats to internal validity in the present context would be if it turned out that one or more of the teachers was using a great deal of English in the immersion

class. Note that this concern with process is within the experimental paradigm, and represents an attempt to carry out this kind of experiment more rigorously.

However, there is a second, more powerful and radical line of attack which questions the whole notion that evaluations can be conceptualized as experiments. This position is well expressed by Cronbach (1980; 1982) who, like Luther, nailed his 95 theses to the door of the established evaluation church. Here are one or two of the theses (Cronbach et al. 1980: 5-11):

> 30. It is unwise for evaluation to focus on whether a project has 'attained its goals'.
> 56. Results of a program evaluation are so dependent on the setting that replication is only a figure of speech; the evaluator is essentially an historian.
> 94. Those who shape policy should reach their decisions with their eyes open; it is the evaluator's task to illuminate the situation, not to dictate the decision.
> 95. Scientific quality is not the principal standard; an evaluation should aim to be comprehensible, correct and complete, and credible to partisans on all sides.

The philosophy of the evaluation of the Mount Scopus program basically adopts Cronbach's position and broadly reflects his view of evaluation as history, not science.

Central to Cronbach's view is the notion of the policy shaping community (PSC). For him, evaluation is part of and at its best informs an essentially political process of decision-making. Those with particular interests in the PSC are stakeholders. It is to the stakeholders that the evaluation is addressed, not merely the research community (who in this sense are simply one of the stakeholders).

In the case of the Mount Scopus evaluation, the policy-shaping community includes those at the local (i.e., school) level

and at the national level (funding for the evaluation comes from the Australian government). At the school level, policy decisions include: Should the school continue to run this program? Should extra resources be set aside for this program? Should I as a parent allow/encourage my child to participate in the program? At the national level, policy decisions include: should programs of this type be extended to other schools and other languages in the Australian context?

The design of the evaluation attempts to provide relevant information so that the members of the policy-shaping community can be assisted in reaching decisions about some of these questions.

In the design of the Mount Scopus evaluation, some of the features of the Canadian evaluations were in fact preserved, because the stakeholders had a legitimate concern about outcomes. For example, parents wished to know that their children were not suffering obvious disadvantage from the program; this aspect of the evaluation acted as a sort of safety net for them. The school and the parents were interested to know about the effects of the program on the students' attitudes to various aspects of their Jewish identity. However, the Canadian design was supplemented by additional research on the social context of the program and by attention to implementation processes, with the result that the main features of the Mount Scopus evaluation are as follows:

1. The establishment of a comparison group to enable comparisons to be made about the academic progress of students in the program with children in regular classes, and to investigate changes in attitudes associated with participation in the program.
2. Questionnaire survey of parents and children in the bilingual group, focusing on sociolinguistic questions and attitudes to Hebrew and English.
3. Observation of classes in the bilingual group.
4. Recording, transcription and analysis of classroom language in the bilingual classes.

5. Interviews with teachers in the program.
6. Case studies of a number of students in the program.
7. Interviews with selected families in the program.
8. Attendance at meetings with parents, staff meetings, school policy meetings, etc.
9. Examination of records - lesson plans, mark books, reports, etc.

RESULTS OF THE EVALUATION TO DATE

Academic Outcomes

The children entering the Bilingual Class in 1990 and a larger group of students in other Year 6 classes who had performed at comparable levels in routine scholarship testing in 1989, were tested on standardized tests of IQ, reading and maths, and on a Hebrew language proficiency test devised by Elana Shohamy for the Melton Center.

From the larger pool, the members of the final comparison group were chosen on the basis of results on these tests. There were

		BILINGUAL	COMPARISON	t	p
IQ	X	121.96	121.24	.25	.80
	s	9.65	10.06		
MATHEMATICS	X	46.24	44.72	.82	.42
	s	6.75	6.36		
READING	X	27.25	26.75	.21	.83
	s	8.73	7.49		
HEBREW	X	59.54	58.68	.44	.66
	s	6.65	6.90		

Table 1 *Results of t-tests on four comparison variables, Bilingual and Comparison groups, 1990 cohort, beginning of program*

13 girls and 12 boys in the comparison group, fairly closely matching the gender distribution in the Bilingual Class. The groups were found to be matched on each of the four variables, on the basis of t-tests (cf. Table 1).

A similar procedure has been carried out in 1991 for the creation of a comparison group for the new cohort of students.

The purpose of the creation of the comparison group is to investigate the performance of the students in the Bilingual Class on a number of outcome measures in relation to the performance of a comparable group of students in other classes which are not being taught by the bilingual method.

Results for the 1990 cohort at the end of the first year of the program are reported in Table 2. The Bilingual and Comparison groups were tested on standardized tests of English (reading comprehension) and mathematics, and the Hebrew proficiency test was readministered. The results show that the group scores for math and reading between the two groups are indistinguishable, whereas there is a highly significant difference between the two groups in terms of Hebrew proficiency.

		BILINGUAL	COMPARISON	t	p
MATHEMATICS	X	42.23	43.12	.55	.59
	s	5.04	5.99		
READING	X	29.35	28.62	.31	.76
	s	8.36	7.77		
HEBREW	X	168.3	138.7	6.89	.00
	S	12.1	17.0		

Table 2 *Results of t-tests on three comparison variables, Bilingual and Comparison groups, 1990 cohort, end of first year of program*

ATTITUDES

The evaluation has also focused on the personal and social background of the students and their families, by means of an

attitude questionnaire for students and a parental questionnaire (in addition to the interviews with parents and students mentioned above). Data from the questionnaires have been partially analyzed to date.

Student Attitudes

The questionnaire had the following sections[2] :

1. demographic information (gender, age, age at entry to the College, languages known and used)
2. attitudes to languages in general
3. self-evaluation of Hebrew language skills
4. attitudes to Israel and Israelis
5. motivation for learning Hebrew
6. attitudes to learning Hebrew
7. language learning strategies and behaviour.

It was administered to the first cohort of both the Bilingual and Comparison groups in December 1989 (prior to entry) and will be readministered at exit.

Overall, relatively few significant differences were found between the groups. There were none in sections 1 and 2 (thus importantly for interpreting outcome measures, the groups were at least initially equivalent in their prior and current language input outside the school). In section 3, there were differences in relation to only 2 of 29 specific skills in Hebrew, and no differences overall, the self-assessment thereby proving to be in line with the students' real abilities in that the groups were matched on performance on the Hebrew proficiency test.

There were no significant differences between the groups on any of the items in Sections 4 and 5, or overall for those sections. The reasons for studying Hebrew given most support by the Bilingual class students focused on the communicative function of Hebrew and its symbolic function as a heritage language (these provide an interesting contrast with the motivation of parents: see

below). Reasons to do with professional and academic advancement, mental training or the facilitation of prayer received least support. Significant differences were found between the groups on Sections 6 and 7 overall, with the Bilingual group (not surprisingly) registering the more positive attitudes.

We have attempted to investigate the relationship between responses on the attitudinal measures and achievement in Hebrew in the Bilingual class, but have been frustrated by ceiling effects for the Bilingual group on the Hebrew proficiency test administered at the end of the first year of the program.

Parental Attitudes

Parents of students in the Bilingual group were given a questionnaire investigating personal background, language background, proficiency in Hebrew and English and motivation for placing children in the Bilingual program. The responses to the questions on motivation have been investigated as part of an M.A. thesis (Segan, 1991). Parents were asked to rate the importance of a number of reasons in their decision to encourage their children to join the Bilingual program. 'Educational challenge' and 'My child is a high achiever' were rated most highly overall. 'Jewish identity' was perceived as of moderate importance, while 'Religious reasons' were notable as the lowest motivating factor, only 1 in 6 parents rating this reason as 'important' in their choice.

Of the 46 parents who completed the questionnaire, 35 had Hebrew speaking relatives, yet the reason 'By participating in the program, my child will be able to speak to Hebrew speaking relatives' was one of the lowest motivating factors.

Segan found highly significant differences between the responses of those parents with Hebrew speaking relatives and those without, the latter rating several of the possible motivating factors significantly more highly (i.e. closer to 'extremely important') than the former. Those with Hebrew speaking relatives show strong instrumental motivation (reasons to do with educational challenge), whereas those without show additional

motivation in terms of the symbolic and communicative function of Hebrew. The significance of this finding is a little unclear until other background details of the two sets of parents (e.g., their degree of religious affiliation, etc.) have been investigated.

COMMUNICATING THE INFORMATION IN THE EVALUATIONS

Communicating the information gathered in the evaluation to the various stakeholders in the Policy Shaping Community has been done in a number of ways. Two Technical Reports (McNamara and Eisikovits, 1990; McNamara and Eisikovits, 1991) have been written for the benefit of the school governing and advisory bodies, as well as for the Government authorities who have funded the evaluation. These reports have been supplemented by conference and workshop presentations and academic publications for the academic community. In addition, separate reports have been written for the parents, with less technical detail and a clearer focus on features of interest to them. There have been regular briefing meetings with parents at which the teachers and members of the evaluation team have spoken and been available for questions; students themselves have attended such meetings as speakers and as listeners. An important aspect of the meetings with parents has been the soliciting from the parents, as important stakeholders, of their demands of the evaluation, that is, the kinds of things they would like the researchers to find out. In this way it is hoped that the evaluation process is a responsive process, and one capable of informing decision-making processes for all interested participants.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE EVALUATION FINDINGS TO DATE

In this paper, the analysis of contextual variables and the investigation of the outcomes of the program, either actual or potential, have been reported. We have provided little information on processes of implementation, although that is our intention in

subsequent papers. It is clear so far that the program should be counted a success in terms of academic outcomes, an unsurprising finding in view of the Canadian literature on immersion, but important and reassuring in this new context nonetheless. In what way, if any, is it possible to generalize from these findings? As stated above, it seems to us that there are limits on their generalizability. In experimental terms, there are too many uncontrolled variables. First, there are the particular teachers working in each program. Secondly, the children in the Comparison group are not in a single class, but are scattered over the other Year 7 classes. The general ability level of the Bilingual Class is high; it is a bright class (note the mean IQ in Table 1). A kind of streaming has taken place on the basis of volunteering for the program; a high-achieving class has its own dynamics in perhaps increasing the performance of all members of the class. The starting level of students in Hebrew proficiency was high, and initial high levels of language proficiency are a key to the success of late immersion programs, as the Canadian evaluations have shown. There is a danger that to the extent that the Mount Scopus program is a success, it may generate a bandwagon effect. We feel that it is important that our evaluation not be used in this way.

On the other hand, the program and its success are clearly of great interest and relevance to those in Government and elsewhere who are contemplating setting up other programs with similar or different age groups, in other settings. The fullest possible documentation of the Mount Scopus program and its outcomes is desirable as a record for others to read and learn from. The evaluation is thus relevant (and in that sense 'generalizable') to the extent that it is possible to learn from the experience of others.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTITIONERS

The experience of Mount Scopus College over the past eighteen months suggests that Hebrew immersion, particularly commencing in or about Year 7, is an unusually promising method of language instruction. The bilingual program was introduced with,

admittedly, considerable forethought and planning, but it has proceeded with surprisingly few serious problems. The preliminary outcomes of the evaluation strongly suggest that students' Hebrew proficiency has progressed at a rate much faster than could have been achieved in any other way in the standard school program, at the same time as their general academic skills and subject-specific learning have developed virtually on a par with the attainments that could have been predicted for a group of students of comparable ability. In other words, the students in the Bilingual Class have made remarkable language gains, and yet they have apparently not had to pay any price for these gains, neither intellectually, emotionally, nor socially.

Other schools may wish to consider introducing Hebrew immersion in their own school communities on the basis of Mount Scopus' experience to date with its bilingual program. Teachers and administrators pondering the feasibility of immersion for their own schools may wish to take the following points into consideration:

1. Many Jewish schools are at a great advantage in relation to Hebrew immersion as compared with other schools in Canada and elsewhere that introduce immersion in any language. Typically, late-immersion programs in Canada cater for students who have studied much less of the target language than students in Jewish schools have studied Hebrew; in some cases, long-standing, well-reputed, and relatively successful Canadian late-immersion programs are open to students who have had no previous exposure to the language at all! By contrast, students in most Jewish schools have been studying Hebrew from an early age, and they already practice immersion in Hebrew on a limited basis by studying Tanach in Hebrew. The Canadian research on delayed and late immersion shows that, unsurprisingly, the longer and more intensively the students have been studying the

language in primary school before entering the immersion program, the more likely their success.

2. A bilingual program can be implemented only on a *voluntary* basis (Cohen and Swain, 1976). It is strongly recommended not to compel any students or parents to enter an immersion program unless they fully support their participation. For this reason, larger schools that have several classes at a year level may find it easier to introduce Hebrew immersion than smaller schools. Small schools may, however, wish to consider cross-age grouping of students in a bilingual class, a practice that has proven successful, for example, in a Japanese immersion school in Sydney.

3. Because immersion cannot simply be imposed on students and parents, the recruitment of students into a bilingual class must be carefully thought through and carried out. The full understanding and support of governing bodies is essential; the Education Committee of Mount Scopus looked at immersion from every angle over fifteen months before giving its tentative approval! Another very important factor in selling the idea is cooperation between the school and a local university. Linguistics departments tend to be very supportive, even enthusiastic, concerning language immersion, and it is very reassuring for parents to hear from acknowledged experts in the field, and not only from school personnel, that a proposed school program will benefit their child.

4. A further benefit of involving university personnel in Hebrew immersion is the support that they can provide in monitoring student progress and in

designing and carrying out a more sophisticated evaluation component than schools would otherwise have the time and expertise for. They are also available, once they are formally involved in the program, to offer in-service activities for immersion teachers on the principles and practices of language teaching in general, and immersion in particular. They may also agree to be on call for consultation with school personnel as new situations and unanticipated issues arise and need to be dealt with.

5. It is least disruptive to a school community to start up immersion in those subjects in which the expertise for teaching them in Hebrew is already present on staff. Having to hire teachers specifically for the program and then have them go through their own periods of adjustment introduces an additional source of potential instability; moreover, the staff who do *not* teach the Bilingual Class will be more likely to accept and support a program staffed by their own colleagues rather than by newly appointed strangers. Which subjects are taught in Hebrew hardly matters; the main point is to increase students' exposure to Hebrew and to make them use Hebrew as a means to a desired end - irrespective of the subjects in which this occurs.

6. Another related staffing consideration concerns the number of teachers involved in the program at any given time. In the case of Mount Scopus, it has appeared to be advantageous for students to be taught by as many as five immersion teachers per year. A group of teachers of this size constitutes a significant support group for each other, as well as offering a diverse range of language models on

which students can base their own language development. Appropriate immersion teachers can be found in the ranks of native Hebrew speakers, as well as among fluent speakers of Hebrew as a second language, provided, in either event, that they possess the appropriate subject-matter expertise. Many immersion programs suffer from students being exposed to one or, at most, two teachers who model the language for them, and they are constantly seeking ways of exposing their students to additional speakers of the target language as a means of enriching their versatility and flexibility in the language.

7. Finally, schools that decide to go ahead with Hebrew immersion would be well advised, in spite of the great successes of immersion programs elsewhere and their own high hopes for success, to caution potential participants - parents, teachers *and* students - that they are likely to experience difficulties in making the transition to the bilingual program, at least in the first half year. Not only is this true in some cases; it also helps to create a climate of tolerance for start-up problems as well as a feeling of particular pride, and even relief, when the problems that do arise are not as serious as had been anticipated or imagined.

CONCLUSION

The Mount Scopus bilingual program presents an interesting model, not only of language immersion and of its evaluation, but also of the collaboration between scholars and practitioners in innovative second-language learning projects that is so often advocated in the literature (e.g., Shapson, 1989; Handscombe, 1990). In particular, the decision of the school staff to involve applied linguists in the development and promotion of the

immersion program from the very outset, and the design of the evaluation on the part of the senior researchers so as to invite the input of the practitioners to make adjustments in response to their concerns, and to incorporate their interests, as well as those of each group of stakeholders in the research plan, have ensured that this program will be notable for its cooperation between schoolpeople and academics from start to finish.

While the ultimate outcomes of this innovation in language teaching cannot be predicted at this stage, the preliminary findings are promising, and the opportunities for further positive effects are considerable. Based on the successes registered to date in the students' language development and on the generally positive response to the program on the part of nearly all participants, teachers, students, researchers and parents alike, there is cause for optimism. To the extent that this optimism proves well-founded, it will be a tribute, among other things, to the carefully cultivated teamwork among the practitioners and researchers on the project team.

NOTES

[1] As evidence of the neglect of process, the famous book by Lambert and Tucker (1972) on the evaluation of the original St. Lambert programs relegates the matter to an Appendix:

> An important question immediately arises: What does the teacher actually do in a classroom when she speaks a language that is totally strange to the childen? Rather than describe in detail the texts, materials, lesson plans -which in most cases are standard - we felt it would be more instructive to describe classes in action as seen by an experienced teacher visiting the school for the first time. The teacher in question was Mme. Benoite Noble, who has taught some twenty years in France, England and Canada with both French- and English-speaking

> elementary age pupils. She visited each class from kindergarten to Grade V for two hours about a month after the beginning of the school year. Her insightful impressions are presented in Appendix B...
>
> (p. 26)

When we turn to Appendix B we find the following note (p. 237):

> 1 Observations made in early October 1971 by Mme. Benoite Noble... This was her first introduction to the school. The observations are based on visits of two hours in each class. Certain subject matters, such as mathematics and science, did not happen to be in progress during her visits.

2 The questionnaire is based on one used by Spolsky (1989).

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LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS: POLICY AND PRACTICE

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ABSTRACT

This paper draws on data from a longitudinal comparative study of languages policy in New Zealand and Victoria, Australia, to explore the nature of school programmes in languages other than English. After describing some theoretical considerations which underlie the main study, the paper presents two hypotheses which might explain the situation of languages in schools and outlines the methods used to explore these.

Hypothesis One proposes that language programs are related to dominant group views of the cultured person. Hypothesis Two proposes that more recent developments are instrumentally driven. The situation in New Zealand is then described and discussed. This section includes the views of language teachers and secondary school principals based on two surveys carried out in 1991. This is followed by a brief overview of languages in schools in Victoria, and a discussion which compares the two situations. The New Zealand evidence supports Hypothesis One, but shows that factors other than jobs or other instrumental reasons are very important in contemporary programs. The paper concludes with a preliminary sketch of a model to explain these programs, and some ideas for future research.

INTRODUCTION

One of the most critical areas affected by a national languages

LLE (1992) 2,1: 30-59

policy is education. Such policies typically cover the role of the national language(s), corpus issues, and priorities for the promotion of community and international languages. Successful policy implementation very often depends on the provision of appropriate educational programmes. Within education, the role of primary and secondary schools is arguably paramount. Yet the school language situation in some countries appears to be quite removed from either national policies or national needs.

This paper examines languages in New Zealand schools in terms of policy and practice, comparing the findings with the school situation in Victoria, Australia. A broader aim is to begin exploring the nature of the links between state policies, the language "needs" of a society, and what actually happens in schools. The data are drawn from a longitudinal comparative study of languages policy development and [1] implementation in New Zealand and Victoria.

THEORY AND METHOD

Theoretical Considerations

The longitudinal study from which data have been drawn for the present paper has three main aims. First, it aims to explore aspects of theory in comparative education. The second aim is to compare and contrast the development and implementation of languages policy in New Zealand and Victoria with a view to providing some explanation of differences and similarities found. Thirdly, the study aims to assess, analyse and assist with language policy development in New Zealand (Peddie, 1991d).

Underlying the longitudinal study is the current reality of educational policy development in New Zealand. Governments regularly borrow educational policies and strategies from other countries, with very mixed success. In recent years, the pace and extent of this "naïve borrowing" (Holmes, 1981), seems to have increased.

In New Zealand, increased borrowing possibly results from at least three factors. First, there seems to be an increasing tendency

for government ministers and senior officials to travel overseas specifically to examine the policies of other countries. This travel can readily be justified if new policies are implemented as a result. Secondly, the current economic depression has led to government criticism of education (Peddie, 1991b). Successive governments have then been quick to implement new policies in education as a way of showing how effectively they can resolve these problems. Thirdly, the rapid adoption internationally of New Right policies has been accompanied by wholesale borrowing among these countries. In New Zealand, the New Right approach to school-based organization has been accompanied not only by a rhetoric of free choice and competition but justified by the "success" of similar policies overseas (Peddie, 1991b).

In the longitudinal study, comparative education is viewed as having both theoretical and applied goals. A problem-solving approach has been used in the study as a theoretical model. A major purpose of this approach is to provide better policy analysis (and advice) for those seeking to reproduce the policies of other countries/states within their own educational systems.

The problem-solving approach to comparative education is most closely associated with the work of British comparativist Brian Holmes (Holmes, 1965, 1981, 1985). The modified five-step version of Holmes' approach used in the longitudinal study may be summarised as follows.

1. Establish the nature of the educational problem;
2. Determine possible policy options;
3. Establish the "initial context" in which the problem is located;
4. Analyze the logical outcomes of applying various policy options (in the country with the problem);
5. Based on steps 1-4, develop the best possible policy advice to resolve the problem under review (Peddie, 1991d).

The broader problem relating to which the present paper can

contribute is "Which languages *should* be used and/or taught in schools?" This presupposes prior questions such as who should make these decisions. In systems like New Zealand and (to an even greater extent) Victoria, individual schools have at least some say over their curriculum. In such cases there is a serious question as to what extent central government *can* prescribe and/or make centralised decisions about language. Such decisions could compromise the "institutional autonomy" which is proclaimed as a cornerstone of New Right education policies.

This paper provides a preliminary understanding of why New Zealand schools are teaching the languages they teach, and what influences their decisions to do so. In terms of the problem-solving approach just outlined, the results should help to clarify the nature of the educational problem (step 1) and aspects of the initial context (step 3). Comparative data from Victoria are then used to test whether the understanding gained from the New Zealand data lends itself to a more general explanatory pattern. This will assist in a full problem-solving analysis, particularly when the logical consequences of adopting overseas policies is being examined (step 4).

As a way of focusing the analysis, two research hypotheses were generated. The first is based on a broad consideration of curriculum history in English-speaking nations. This reveals that secondary schools have until very recently tended to concentrate on subjects valued by the middle and upper classes of society, rather than "useful" subjects (Goodson, 1987; Williams, 1961). At the same time, the educational history of the same countries shows little evidence of languages in (at least state) primary schools since the advent of mass primary education in the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

Hypothesis One

That traditional language teaching in secondary schools reflects the model of a cultured individual held by the dominant ethnic and class group in that society; but that primary school language

programmes are unlikely to reflect such a model.

In recent years, the increasing pressure from governments and business for secondary schools to be more "relevant" and to respond more appropriately to the economic needs of society has increased (cf. below). Observation suggested initially that this was having some effect on secondary school language programmes. Meanwhile, primary schools have begun to be much more aware of cultural issues, including language, in the school community. They have not faced the same "economic" pressures as secondary schools, although they have been subject to a related pressure to produce highly literate students for secondary schooling.

Hypothesis Two

That developments in secondary school language programmes since the economic downturn of the late 1970s reflect a move towards instrumentalism in school curriculum; but that developments in the primary school are more likely to reflect community patterns and interests.

Methods and Procedures

The longitudinal study (1986-92) has involved a variety of data-gathering procedures which cannot easily be classified into a single "methodology" (see Peddie, 1991d for further details). Broadly speaking, the methodology could be classified as semi-ethnographic and interactive, involving visits, interviews, analysis of documents, observations and discussions, as well as surveys by questionnaire.

In New Zealand, data collection has been relatively unstructured, but nonetheless wide-ranging. The researcher has been Research Officer on the National Executive of the New Zealand Association of Language Teachers (NZALT) since 1981, and has been closely involved in monitoring a number of issues affecting school languages. In this connection, he has also conducted several studies on school languages teaching in New

Zealand (Peddie, 1984a, 1984b, 1985, 1986, 1990; and cf. below).

In 1989, the researcher was the independent evaluator of a trial assessment scheme for sixth form (Year 11) students, a project which involved working with seventeen secondary schools (Peddie, 1990). In late 1990 a second longitudinal study was begun on junior secondary school curriculum. This study has included a national survey and subsequent case study work with nine secondary schools located around New Zealand. One focus of the study concerns languages in the junior classes of the schools.

In 1991, two postal surveys were conducted to gain the opinions of language teachers and of secondary school principals on a variety of language issue. The almost identical survey forms were brief, but covered issues on compulsory language study, the place of te reo Maori (Maori language), programmes in teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL), and issues in languages policy (cf. Appendix).

The teachers' questionnaire was sent in July 1991 to all individual members of NZALT, the vast majority of whom are secondary school teachers of languages other than English or te reo Maori (LOTEM). Eventually, 235, or 96% of all questionnaires were returned and supplied usable data. These questionnaires played an important role in the NZALT submission to government on the development of a national languages policy *Languages For All* 1991).

The principals' questionnaire was sent in September, 1991 to a random sample of 100 representing approximately 25% of New Zealand secondary school principals. A follow-up letter was sent after about two and a half weeks, and local principals who had not replied were phoned by a research assistant. Despite the fact that the questionnaire arrived simultaneously with a major government policy announcement on bulk funding options for schools, two-thirds of the sample responded almost immediately, and ninety-five of the 100 questionnaires were eventually returned. This suggests that language is an issue of real concern.

Five further visits have been made to Victoria after the study began in late 1986. The shortest visit was two and a half weeks,

while the longest over three months. Data has been gathered (among many other things), on languages in the three "systems" of Victorian primary and secondary education - the government schools, the Catholic system, and the independent schools. Seven case study schools have been visited four or five times, while a range of other schools have also been visited. In each school, unstructured interviews have been conducted with (usually) the principal and language co-ordinators or teachers. As well, regular interviews have been conducted with Ministry officers and with people in a range of government and other organisations related to language, education and multiculturalism.

In both countries, the researcher has monitored policy documents, reports, and statistics on languages in schools. Discussion of these documents has often been part of the case study work and the interviews described above.

LANGUAGES IN SCHOOLS: NEW ZEALAND

Historical Outline

Language was an important aspect of the very earliest schools set up by missionaries after Europeans began arriving in New Zealand. From the time of the first school at Rangihoua in 1816, English was taught to Maori children, although much of the day's lessons was conducted in te reo Maori. The reverse situation did not arise when church and other private (primary) schools were set up for Pakeha (white) settlers. Teaching in these schools was exclusively in English.

When the first secondary schools opened in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, Latin, Ancient Greek and French figured prominently on the curriculum of boys' schools, while French and sometimes Latin, German and Italian were offered to girls (Cumming and Cumming, 1978). This trend continued in secondary schools well into the first half of the twentieth century (Murdoch, 1943). By the late 1930s, Murdoch reports that just under a third of all secondary pupils were studying two foreign

languages, while 75% studied French (1943:91).

The dominance of languages did not occur just in the public and private secondary schools. A major expansion in secondary education from the late nineteenth century came through the district high school, a secondary section added to a primary school. Yet although the intention was to make these schools much more practical than the very academic secondary schools, almost all of the district highs offered Latin and French, while very few offered (for example) woodwork.

Up until the 1960s, a language was required for a number of university courses, a feature which had a flow™ down effect onto secondary curriculum. Latin was originally compulsory for the Matriculation examination giving entry to university. A foreign language was required for a Bachelor of Arts, Latin was required for Law, and at one stage Medicine (Murdoch, 1943; Peddie, 1984b).

From the mid-1960s, languages in secondary schools went into decline. Although new languages were introduced, the overall numbers fell steadily. There were a variety of reasons for this, among them the lifting of compulsion and the introduction of new course arrangements (Peddie, 1984b).

Meanwhile, little was happening in languages in primary schools. Some "linkage" schemes were tried in the 1950s and 60s, in which a (mainly French) programme was set up between the languages department of a secondary school and one or more teachers in a nearby intermediate school (Forms I and II/ Years 6 and 7). Such schemes were rarely successful or long-lasting. A few more primary schools began offering te reo Maori in the 1960s and 70s, but typically a primary school student would be exposed only to English.

Recent language-specific developments to the early 1980s can be summarised as follows. Latin declined sharply both in importance and student numbers. French numbers dropped steadily, but it remained the most popular language after English. Te reo Maori began to increase in importance in both primary and secondary schools. The first signs of an upsurge in Japanese became evident following a fairly static enrolment in the decade after its introduction in 1967 (*Education Statistics of New Zealand*

(annual), henceforth *ESNZ*; Peddie, 1984b).

Hypothesis One: Discussion

The first hypothesis proposes that, historically, languages in schools would reflect the model of a cultured individual held by the dominant group in society. This certainly appears to be the case in New Zealand. The early secondary schools were few in number and elitist by reputation (Murdoch, 1943). Those who attended were almost exclusively white Europeans, particularly in the nineteenth century. Maoris began attending their own (denominational) secondary schools in greater numbers from the early years of the twentieth century and did sometimes attend district high schools and other secondary schools. Over this century, Maori attendance in standard secondary schools became the norm, but even in the 1990s, retention rates for Maori are much lower than for other groups (ESNZ).

The model then was a Pakeha (European) ideal, that of an English gentleman and his well-bred wife.[2] As part of that ideal, the gentleman studied the classics and the international language of diplomacy - French - while his lady acquired the culture of French, with perhaps some Italian or German. There was no question of either studying te reo Maori.

Small but significant groups of migrants had arrived in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from a variety of non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB), including Yugoslavia, China and Scandinavia. In line with the ideal, none of their languages found their way into the school curriculum (Peddie, 1991a). The language picture, therefore, appears to have been dominated by issues of culture and tradition and certainly not by community needs. Economic needs were not a major issue; Britain was by far New Zealand's largest trading partner. At the same time, it should not be overlooked that French was an international language widely used in diplomacy, trade, and the social circles to which some wealthy New Zealanders aspired.

Perhaps just as significant were the ways in which secondary

schools arranged their programmes down to the 1960s. Apart from the small group of technical schools which appeared in the first half of this century, most secondary schools arranged their courses as follows. The top ability groups, commonly selected by standardised verbal/mathematical IQ tests from the 1940s (Shuker, 1987), studied Latin and French; the middle groups learned French; and the technical and homecraft streams did no foreign language at all. As is widely recognised internationally, such grouping generally results in those from professional and managerial classes being overwhelmingly represented in the higher streams. Studying two languages, therefore, could be construed as a mark of class and intellectual superiority.

Primary schools offered mass education. Te reo Maori was not thought to be important by the dominant English group, and it seems to have been viewed as inappropriate or unnecessary for primary school children to learn another language. The rare exceptions were some of the two-year intermediate schools after they were firmly established in the 1930s, and the "prep" schools for some private secondary schools. French was sometimes taught in intermediate schools, while a few of the prep schools also offered Latin.

One final factor needs to be mentioned here. In New Zealand, secondary teachers in general and languages teachers in particular have always been people with university degrees. The universities tended to offer courses in languages similar to those found in traditional British universities. Hence, any attempt to introduce new languages into the school system on a wide scale could fail simply through a lack of suitably qualified teachers.

Historically, the first hypothesis appears to be supported by the New Zealand data, with the last point about the availability of qualified teachers added as a form of rider. The languages taught (and originally many of the teachers) came from Europe. But even more importantly they were the traditionally taught languages of culture: Latin, Ancient Greek, French, Italian, and - somewhat later in coming to prominence - German. On the other hand, the main

migrant groups present by the mid-twentieth century included Scandinavians, Chinese, Dutch and Dalmatians, while the Maori population was beginning to assert its presence more strongly. The arrival of large numbers of Pacific Island peoples in the 1970s did almost nothing to change school programmes.

The Current Scene

In the ten years from 1980 the situation in secondary schools has changed considerably, with some signs of major change also emerging in primary schools. This section summarises languages in schools in 1990, the last year for which full published data are available (ESNZ, 1991).

Two points should be noted by way of introduction. First, secondary schooling lasts five years in New Zealand, beginning in Form III (Year 8). Secondly, the non-government sector in New Zealand education is very small by comparison with that of Victoria where in 1991 32.8% of students were in non-government schools, 10.1% of whom were in independent schools. The New Zealand Catholic schools are fully integrated into the government system, while legally retaining their "special character". Prior to their late 1970s integration they had in any case proportionately far fewer students than in Victoria.

In 1990, the 135 remaining independent private schools in New Zealand had approximately 3.8% of primary and secondary students. Languages have traditionally been stronger in the more elitist private schools, a point which both links well with Hypothesis One, and which should be borne in mind when making comparisons between New Zealand and Victoria.

By 1990, the New Zealand primary school system still offered little in the way of language teaching. In the upper years of primary, in both full primary and intermediate schools (Forms I and II), a few classes studied elementary French, and one or two schools reportedly offered other languages such as Esperanto.

About fifteen primary schools are either officially bilingual in English and te reo Maori, or they are kura kaupapa Maori

schools run by Maoris and teaching in te reo Maori with full regard for Maori customs and learning traditions. A growing number of regular primary schools also have studies in Maori language and culture. It is reportedly rare, however, for such programmes to have language teaching for the three hours a week which is considered an adequate minimum in Victoria.

The overall picture of languages studied in secondary schools is presented in Table One.

	Form III	Forms IV-VII	Total	%
English[1]	52,922 [2]	171,722	224,644	97.6
te reo Maori	9,313	10,157	19,470	8.5
French	15,554	13,410	28,964	12.6
Japanese	6,186	6,256	12,442	5.4
German[3]	3,883	5,125	9,008	3.9
Latin	1,789	1,439	3,228	1.4
Spanish	42	226	268	.1
Pacific Islands languages[4]	132	60	192	.1
Russian	56	121	177	.1
Indonesian	76	74	150	.1
Chinese	0	2	2	.0
All Students	52,922	177,234	230,156	100.0

Notes:

1. English is not compulsory after the first year in Form V.
2. This adjusts the figure in *ESNZ*, which for some reason exceeded the number of third form students.
3. For unknown reasons, German has traditionally been offered at Form IV or later in some schools.
4. The languages taught include Samoan, Tongan and Cook Islands Maori.

Table 1: Languages Studied in NZ Secondary Schools, 1990. Source: ESNZ,1991.

Several figures in Table One are worthy of comment. First, of the 8.5% who were studying te reo Maori, nearly half were non-Maori, and a similar proportion (48%) were studying the language in the first year of the secondary school. Both points are significant. When compared with the total numbers of Maori students in secondary schools (34,586 in 1990), the first shows that fewer than one in three was studying te reo Maori. The second point is significant as many schools now offer "taster" courses of half a year or less to all of the students in Form III (Year 8) for subjects not compulsory in terms of the state's core curriculum. As languages are not compulsory, they are often offered in part-year courses, inflating the numbers of students in statistical returns (Peddie, 1984b, 1991c). Nevertheless, the published Form III figures are still very useful as an accurate indication of which languages are taken at some stage of a student's schooling.

French remains the most commonly studied language after English, both in the first and in subsequent years. The numbers taking French have however dropped steadily from over 40,000 in the late 1970s. The numbers for Japanese have risen sharply since the early 1980s after being relatively stable at fewer than 2,000 up until 1982. The total for 1990 is in fact more than double the corresponding figure for 1987, and indications are that the rise has continued in 1991 and 1992.

Since the late 1970s, enrolments in German have fluctuated between 8-9,000 without a clear trend emerging. Russian and Indonesian have been traditionally strong in just a handful of schools, leading to minor fluctuations in numbers year by year. Latin continues to decline, although less rapidly than in earlier years. In 1990 it was still taught in 50 out of approximately 400 secondary schools in New Zealand.

The numbers in Chinese have definitely risen since 1990, although the language is taught as yet in only a few schools. One of the critical factors in the slow development of this language is that there is no national examination available. It is clear in both this example and from earlier experiences that the chances of a language succeeding in more than one or two schools depends in part on examination opportunities being made available.

It is not clear what has happened to Pacific Island languages in 1991, but in 1990 only three schools were offering such a language, a surprising fact when it is considered that an estimated 6% of all secondary students are from a Pacific Islands ethnic group. As with Chinese, however, there have been no moves in national examinations, while at the university level the first courses in Pacific Islands languages only began (in Wellington) in 1989.

Overall, the statistics show that fewer than two-thirds of New Zealand secondary students get any exposure to a language other than English. In new (compulsory) core curriculum proposals released in mid-1991, languages were seen as something to be available and encouraged (The National Curriculum of New Zealand, 1991). Despite a ministerial statement strongly implying that languages would be compulsory, it is very likely they will remain optional (Peddie, 1991c).

Hypothesis Two: Discussion

The second hypothesis proposes that recent developments in school languages are the result of a greater curriculum focus on economic and other instrumental factors. The extent to which both the statistical and other data support that hypothesis is now explored.

First, recent statistics from *ESNZ* show that the overall proportion of students studying a language other than English (LOTE) has remained relatively constant since the late 1970s. Considerable rises in the numbers taking te reo Maori and Japanese have counterbalanced the drop in French and Latin. The percentage of students studying all other languages (most of whom study German), has never exceeded 5%. The discussion which follows, therefore will focus on Latin, French, Japanese and te reo Maori.

Latin and French, as explained earlier, were considered to be the languages of culture, appropriate and even desirable for an educated person well into the mid-twentieth century. Popular attacks on both languages for not being "useful" have a long history in New Zealand. While organizations like NZALT

occasionally managed press releases defending the teaching of languages as an integral part of a sound education, the popular view expressed by parents has been that traditional languages are a waste of time. The loss of over 15,000 students since the late 1970s suggests that these views are being translated into action. For most of this period, also, secondary rolls were rising.

The decline in both subjects, however, began somewhat earlier. In 1968, 30.9% of all students in Forms IV-VII (Years 9-12), studied French (Kooznetzoff, 1974). By the early 1980s this percentage had declined to about 10%, and by 1990 it was down to 7.6%. The fall-off in Latin began even earlier and although numbers are declining more slowly, the abandonment of Latin by two or three large academic schools would reduce the numbers dramatically. The issue, interestingly, does not now seem to relate to "relevance", but to the Latin *language*. The recent introduction of Classical Studies, first as a subject and then for the Form VII Bursaries Examination has been surprisingly popular. In 1990, more seventh form students studied Classical Studies than *all* LOTE enrolments added together (3,341, as opposed to 2,546).

Powerful recent questioning of the value of learning French (Callister and Haines, 1991; Crocombe et al., 1991), has added to the concerns of some principals, who feel considerable public pressure to introduce - especially - Japanese. That such a move should be considered more carefully, even if economics can be taken as the imperative of the 90s, has been argued elsewhere (Peddie, 1991b). The rise of Japanese does offer powerful support for Hypothesis Two. The public pressure is reportedly strongly linked to perceptions of job opportunities, and principals already concerned about falling rolls have made comments to the researcher such as, "If we don't offer Japanese, we'll lose students to [school X]".

It is important here to separate the rhetoric from the reality. First, very few students from secondary school Japanese programmes appear to be heading for jobs where the language can be used (Capper, 1991). Secondly, the notion that boys in particular are taking Japanese to get jobs in international trade is belied by

the fact that in Form VII Japanese, the traditional pattern of girls taking a language is maintained. In 1990 73% of seventh form Japanese students were female (though the percentage was even higher for French and German).

The other language to experience a sharp rise is te reo Maori. Enrolments seemed to reach a plateau from about 1987-90, but since the late 1970s the numbers have risen by 40-50%. The explanations for this are relatively straightforward. Maori language and culture have been experiencing a major resurgence in recent decades. Legal recognition of te reo Maori as an official language in the Maori Language Act of 1987, the phenomenal expansion of te kohanga reo (Maori pre-school "language nests") from the early 1980s, and considerable attention to the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi by the 1984-90 Labour government have all combined with public discussion, reports, publications and advances in almost every area. This has not been without some significant Pakeha backlash, particularly over the status of te reo Maori. As well, the current (1992) National government has been less strong on pursuing issues raised by consideration of the Treaty. The place of te reo Maori in New Zealand's national languages policy, projected to be promulgated in 1992, is still quite unclear.

The point for the present discussion *is* however clear. Knowledge of te reo Maori may provide important future job opportunities, but at the present time it is seldom considered in that light. The expansion of school programs in te reo Maori, therefore, suggests that the second hypothesis needs some modification. The teachers' and principals' questionnaires are now examined for further ideas on this.

Analysis of these questionnaires reveals some interesting points in relation to the present discussion. First, about two-thirds of both groups are against compulsory Maori language in the secondary school, although a number added suggestions that it should be compulsory in primary schools. Only 11% of the languages teachers did not favour some compulsion for te reo Maori *or* another LOTE, but 42% of principals were against compulsion in any form. This last result can of course be turned

around; more than half the principals would favour either te reo Maori or a LOTEM to be compulsory.

The questionnaire did not ask either group of respondents to nominate which languages should be taught, but it did seek opinions on the idea that fostering languages of trade should be one goal of a national policy on languages. Only half the teachers and 41% of the principals agreed. A related question asked whether a national policy should specify priority languages for primary and secondary schools. About half of both groups agreed (47% of teachers, and 55% of principals).

There was strong support for TESOL for new arrivals who lack English, but mixed reactions on the idea of transitional bilingual programmes. While those opposed to these programmes may have been objecting to the notion of their being transitional, only 46% of teachers and 41% of principals were in favour. It should be added that about 30% of both groups were unsure. Questions on the role and place of te reo Maori drew the strongest additional comments. Just under a third of principals and 40% of teachers agreed with the notion that Maori should be equal in status to English "in all areas of government". This may be considered a surprisingly high positive response by some, but it is one which indicates how much recent progress has been made. Nevertheless, two-thirds of the principals and half the languages teachers wanted all compulsory core subjects (which include mathematics, science and social studies), to be taught exclusively in English.

Interviews with some twenty-five secondary school principals in the course of two other projects suggest that principals tend to have quite strong personal views about languages, but that they are also acutely aware of current public interest in Japanese. A few still seemed quite unaware of the problems involved in training qualified teachers of these new languages, or in "translating" an existing teacher of French or German into a teacher of Japanese (*Languages for All*, 1991; Peddie, 1991d).

Most of those interviewed had positive reactions to the teaching of te reo Maori, but expressed some hesitation over making the language compulsory. In support of his view, one

principal produced a community curriculum survey in which te reo Maori headed the list of subjects parents wanted *less* of - and this in a district where there are significant numbers of Maori, and where the principal is strongly in favour of extending Maori language and culture in the school. Several principals did favour compulsory exposure to te reo Maori *or* a LOTEM in the junior forms of the school, a position favoured by about 20% of the principals in the 1991 questionnaire.

Interviews with these principals made it clear that several other factors were vital in decisions on their languages program. These included: the strength of the current languages staff and programs; the way curriculum decisions are made within the schools; and concerns over the ethnic make-up of the student population.

It is apparent that if these factors are generally applicable, the second hypothesis needs to be much more complex. Indeed, the analysis suggests that rather than a "hypothesis", a decision-making model might be more appropriate. This model would need to include all of the factors discussed above.

Before attempting to construct such a model, it was thought desirable to examine - however briefly - at least one other setting to see whether other significant variables need to be considered. School language programs in the state of Victoria, Australia will now be reviewed for this purpose.

Languages in Schools: Victoria, Australia

As already noted, Victoria has three main school "systems": the government schools; the Catholic (systemic) schools; and the independent schools (including a few Catholic schools). Each of these systems functions more or less independently, though there is clearly also much interdependence in terms of curriculum offerings and other policy areas. This is partly because of the influence of (mainly Commonwealth) funded programmes, partly because of the Victorian Certificate of Education (VCE) which is the entry qualification to university, and partly because of the common cultural and social context in which all three systems operate. Government schools have about two-thirds of all students, with the

Catholic system having 23% and the independent schools the remaining 10%. The independent schools do have a much higher proportion of secondary students, however, some 22%.

Because these three systems do operate somewhat independently, and because the system of gathering annual statistics differs from that of New Zealand, trends in language programs are less readily available. What follows, then, is a less comprehensive summary than that presented for New Zealand.

The current situation in languages reveals some interesting differences from New Zealand. First, there is much more language teaching in primary schools. About 40,000 primary school students were studying a LOTE for a minimum of three hours a week in government schools in 1991, a number representing about 13% of the primary school population (Victoria. Ministry of Education and Training, 1991). As well, some eighteen languages were represented in these programmes (Martin, 1991). Martin quotes data from 1989 showing that Italian was by far the most common language taught, with 63% of all language students. Greek (7%), Japanese (7%) and German (6%) were the next most widely taught. Insertion programmes, funded mainly by ethnic community organizations, accounted for programs covering 29% of all students, but these programs tended to operate less frequently than the 51% of programs operated by supernumerary teachers; 68 mins/week, compared with 181 mins/week).

In government secondary schools, fewer than a third of all students are studying a LOTE. In 1990, 77% of all students in Year 7 were learning a LOTE, but this decreased to 3.7% in the final year (Year 12). This compares badly even with the 11.7% studying a LOTE at this level in New Zealand. In brief, a higher percentage of Victorian government secondary students are exposed to a LOTE, but far fewer carry on past the years when many schools make such a study compulsory (Years 7 and 8). Languages commonly taught include French, German, Japanese, Indonesian, Italian and Modern Greek, with a wide range of new languages emerging.

Over thirty languages are offered in Saturday or after hours programmes by the Victorian School of Languages (VSL), now

classified as a government school. It is important to note that about half the entries to the VCE in languages are students of the VSL, many of them native speakers, or from homes in which the language is spoken.

The proportion of students taking language courses in Catholic primary schools is also much higher than in New Zealand. Italian is again by far the most commonly taught language, while programmes in Modern Greek, Arabic, Vietnamese and other languages are also found. In secondary schools close to 60% (about 45,000), of all students study a language, with most of these in the traditional European languages of French, Italian, German and, to a lesser degree, Spanish. In 1991, some 4,900 students were studying an Asian language, with Japanese the most popular, followed by Indonesian. One school taught Vietnamese.

The independent schools have in recent years kept detailed statistics on language programmes in their schools (Association of Independent Schools of Victoria, 1990, 1991). These figures show that independent school students take languages programs more frequently than those in other systems, especially in the senior years of the secondary school. In 1990, just over 45% of all independent primary school students were studying one of thirteen LOTE, with Hebrew, French, Chinese, Japanese and German each having between 10 and 20% of those involved. In independent secondary schools, about 70% of all students studied at least one LOTE, with about 20% still taking a LOTE in the final year.[3] The data for 1991 show that the numbers studying a LOTE at both primary and secondary school have risen (while government school numbers have declined).

The major language studied in independent secondary schools remains French, with 29.4% of all such secondary students in 1990. Other significant languages include German (13%), Japanese (8.4%), and Chinese (5.5%). Latin, Modern Greek, Indonesian and Hebrew all have between 2% and 4% of secondary enrolments. The 1991 data show that Japanese had risen to 11%, Chinese and Indonesian had risen to 7.1% and 4.5% respectively, while French, German and Latin had all experienced a drop in numbers.

There are three further critical factors which are about to affect school language programmes in Victoria. In May, 1991, the Minister of Education and Training announced that a LOTE was to be compulsory for Years 7-10 (equivalent of up to the end of Form V in New Zealand), beginning with Year 7 in 1992 (*Victoria: Education for Excellence*, 1991). This announcement applies to government schools, but research interviews in late 1991 suggested that the other systems are very likely to increase their efforts in language teaching as a result. This ministerial announcement has interesting political overtones, given the ways in which political considerations regularly form part of social policy-making (Peddie, 1989).

The second factor comes from the release in September, 1991 of the new Australian national languages policy *Australia's Language*, 1991). States now choose eight priority languages from a list of fifteen. These languages are funded by the Commonwealth at $A300 for every student completing a Year 12. The money is to be paid to the Ministry (for government schools), the Catholic Education Office, and/or individual independent schools. This could easily shape the future of senior language teaching programs in Victoria. The state has selected its eight languages: French, German, Italian, Modern Greek Japanese, Chinese, Indonesian and Vietnamese. Particularly affected could be schools in the independent system which, for example, teach Hebrew as the main language.

The third factor arises from the same policy announcement. Funding for ethnic (after hours) schools is to be given to "host" government and non-government school systems, instead of being paid on a per capita basis to the schools/organizations themselves. The effects of this policy change are at the time of writing (January, 1992) quite uncertain.

Languages in Schools: Comparative Discussion

In both countries, there is a trend towards more teaching of Asian languages, particularly Japanese. In both countries this is linked

to perceptions of the trade and tourism importance of the language. The rise in numbers of students studying Chinese in Victoria, however, may simply reflect the much larger Chinese-speaking population of the state. With New Zealand's Chinese population reported to have risen by 50% (from about 20,000 to 30,000) in the year ending July, 1991, it will be interesting to see whether this is translated into a sharp rise in the teaching of Chinese.

In both countries there is a continuation of the decline in traditional European languages, notably Latin, but also French. Victorian figures show a decline in Italian and Modern Greek, perhaps as more third and fourth generation migrants switch permanently to English. The corresponding large migrant groups in New Zealand have been in quite a different position. The largest NESB European groups, the Dutch and Yugoslavs have never had their languages taught in more than isolated classes. The large more recently arrived Pacific Island groups, especially the Samoans, are just beginning to exert pressure to have their languages introduced into schools. Previously, their primary goal was to equip their children with a high level of English, and they were confident in the ability of the home and the church to maintain the home language. Ironically, it appears that achievement of both goals may be difficult. Certainly New Zealand offers little in the way of TESOL (Peddie, 1987, 1991d), and the erosion of home languages through the constant pressure of English is not at all surprising.

A further difference lies in the role played by examinations. In New Zealand, the continued presence of School Certificate as a national examination in Form V (Year 10), influences which languages will be taught. In Victoria this is much less of a problem, as over thirty languages are available in the VCE, and there is no mid-school national examination.

Overall, it is perhaps surprising to find that the proportions of students studying languages in the secondary school is not more heavily weighted in Victoria's favour, particularly in the senior classes of government schools. It will be interesting, however, to see whether the end result of the new Commonwealth financial

incentive is translated into a rapid rise in language students at the state level.

Victoria has certainly many more language programs and students at the primary level than New Zealand. It is worth remembering, however, that most of these languages programs are supported by supernumerary staff or by ethnic organizations. The linkage of such languages with secondary programmes - sometimes involving quite different languages - is an issue which has occupied more than one policy officer in the Victorian Ministry in recent years. Both countries suffer from being a long way from countries where English is not spoken, but both have the advantage of large NESB groups some of whose languages offer instrumental benefits. The extent to which these considerations come into individual school planning is quite unclear.

Languages in Schools: A Model

The Victorian data add two major factors to what emerged from analysis of languages in new Zealand schools. First, it is clear that direct government intervention can occur in at least two ways: by ruling on compulsion; and by manipulating programmes through financial incentives. Both of these aspects need to be built into any theoretical model of school language provision.

Secondly, the presence of different school systems needs to be taken into account, particularly in places like Victoria where there is considerable curriculum freedom. The "culture" and ideology of each system are clearly influential in Victoria. The independent schools appear to be working towards an ideal of educational excellence which is somewhat more akin to the historical model of European culture than either of the other systems. At the same time, they are by no means ignoring contemporary developments. The Catholic system has a strong commitment to community language programmes, but is reportedly investigating stronger support for Asian language programmes, which tend to be perceived at least in part as economically desirable.

The government system appears to have no clear philosophy on which languages to support, other than its selection of the eight priority languages. This selection is an interesting blend of traditional, community and economically relevant languages. It is not easy to tell whether the government is genuinely trying to foster all languages, or whether they are merely trying to get as much money as possible from the Commonwealth policy.

Taking all the New Zealand and Victorian data into account the following influences appear to be currently at work in school languages programmes.

1. Formal pressure from government: compulsion
2. Informal pressure from government: e.g. encouragement by financial incentives, strong curriculum and methods support for languages.
3. The degree of freedom experienced by individual schools and school systems to determine their own language programs.
4. Some traditional notions of "education" in which learning languages is a good thing because knowing a language is part of being "properly educated".
5. Pressure from the government, business and the school community, for the introduction of (economically) "useful" languages like Japanese.
6. School/community specific pressures to introduce te reo Maori (not always in areas of high density Maori population).
7. School-specific pressures from (a) principals with strong personal convictions about languages and/or (b) teachers anxious to maintain their jobs and to continue teaching the language(s) they know.
8. *Awareness* on the part of the principal and the school of government, economic and/or community pressures.
9. A decision to act because of one or more of these pressures.
10. The school's own curriculum planning and decision-

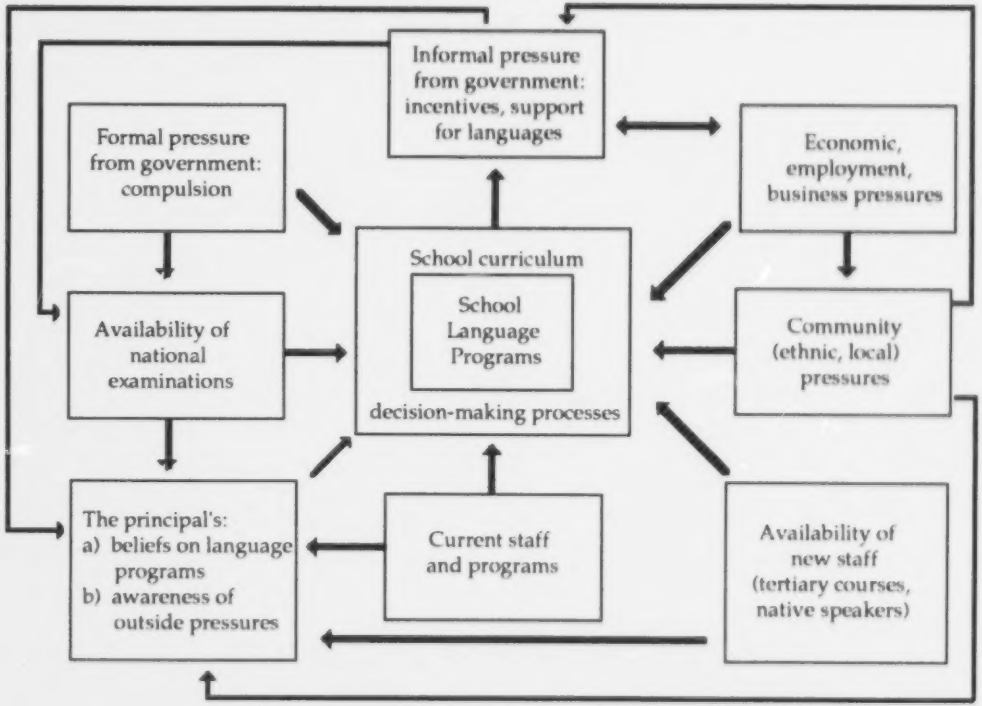
Informal pressure from government: incentives, support for languages
Formal pressure from government: compulsion
Economic, employment, business pressures
School curriculum
School Language Programs
decision-making processes
Availability of national examinations
Community (ethnic, local) pressures
The principal's:
a) beliefs on language programs
b) awareness of outside pressures
Current staff and programs
Availability of new staff (tertiary courses, native speakers)

Figure 1: School Language Programs: An Exploratory Model

making process (cf. Peddie, 1991e)

11. Current language programmes in the school.
12. Current teaching strengths, and opportunities to appoint new staff or to redeploy existing teachers.
13. The availability of public examinations in present/ proposed languages.
14. Teacher supply, either through tertiary study programs or from the pool of native speakers.

A tentative model to explain school languages programmes can now be developed. This model is presented in Figure One.

Like every model of real-life decision-making, there are a host of variables which might be considered at each step. Nevertheless, the data from Victoria and New Zealand offer some support for the interactions shown in the model. This model should provide a useful template for future research. It will allow researchers to proceed in two main ways. First, data collected from other countries may be used to test the general framework of the model. Secondly, the model may help researchers to focus on particular aspects of language programs in order to extend the analysis and to clarify interactions with other factors. Research of both these kinds may eventually result in a more detailed model to explain languages programs in schools.

Arguably the most productive - and difficult - starting point would be the role played by the school principal, especially in systems like New Zealand and Victoria where the school has considerable curriculum freedom. The role of the principal is one important factor currently being investigated by the researcher in a longitudinal project on junior secondary school curriculum in New Zealand.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

This paper has argued that school language programs do not simply happen by accident. In the past, they were linked to middle and upper class perceptions of what constitutes an "educated gentle-

man" and a "cultured lady". In recent years, the shift towards a more instrumental curriculum has been one significant factor in changing language offerings, but this research shows that current programs are as the result of a complex (and shifting) network of factors. Many of these factors interact, resulting in a number of pressure points on principals and school as they seek to provide their own perceptions of the best education for their students.

NOTES

1 The author wishes to acknowledge the support and the financial assistance of the New Zealand Ministry of education, the National Languages & Literacy Institute of Australia and the University of Auckland in the conduct of this study.

2 The language in this section is consciously sexist, to reflect the sexist views of the times.

3 These figures were contained in a draft report to the Catholic Education Office, Victoria. The help of the CEOV is gratefully acknowledged.

4 For these figures and other data I am grateful to Mrs Judy Oakes of AISV, and to the AISV itself for its assistance in the research. Percentages of all students are approximate as they are based on enrolments by language, where some double counting would occur. Full data was available for 1991, but figures for 1990 allow a straight comparison with New Zealand data given in Table One.

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MODELS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC FACTORS IN SOME VICTORIAN SECOND LANGUAGE PROGRAMS: A PROGRESS REPORT

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ABSTRACT

This reports on a project examining the relationship between program model, sociolinguistic factors, and linguistic outcomes in a small sample of school LOTE programs in Victoria. The languages are Chinese, German, Greek and Italian. Issues under consideration include: content-based versus language-object programs, the grouping in classes of children with and without a home background in the language, the significance of the ethnolinguistic composition of the district and primary-secondary continuity. The need for grammaticalization and realistic expectations is discussed.

This paper describes a project within the Language and Society Centre of the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia in which we are attempting to examine the relationship between program model, sociolinguistic factors and linguistic outcomes. Australia is currently experimenting with a wide diversity of program models for the teaching of languages other than English, especially at the primary school. For example 17 languages are at present being offered in Victorian State primary schools. There are vast differences between the programs in time commitment, methodologies, the relation between the language program and the rest of the curriculum, and the way in which the composition of the school population and the local community resources are taken into account. Some of these issues can be il-

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lustrated best by examining programs in a particular language, even though the issue applies to all or most languages.

TYPES OF PROGRAMS

We shall differentiate between language-object programs and content-based programs. The latter category includes immersion programs. Language-object programs have the language as the main or sole object of instruction. Some also have the language as the medium of instruction. Content-based programs have as their object both non-language curriculum subjects taught through the medium of the language and the acquisition and development of the language itself.

Immersion programs are based on a Canadian model although they are found in other parts of the world. Children in these programs receive all or a large proportion (usually at least half) of their instruction through the medium of L2 and thereby acquire the language through use. Curriculum content taught through L1 is gradually increased.

Content-based programs employ immersion principles although most of those offered in Victoria are not immersion programs in the Canadian sense. In Canadian immersion programs children receive all or a large proportion of their instruction in the second language. In the content-based programs in Melbourne, some subjects are taught in L2 (say, for 4 or 5 hours per week). In a variant of this type of program, some segments of a number of subjects are taught in L2 and other segments in L1. In Melbourne there appears to be a predominance of programs in which some segments of some subjects are taught in the second language for a total of 3 hours per week.

Three aspects are highlighted in content-based language programs: communicative need, functional specialisation and comprehensible input. A communicative need for speaking the target language is provided by making the target language the language of particular subjects, for example teaching science in Italian. Functional specialisation is provided through assigning different subjects to different languages, and the teacher using the

target language exclusively to the children both inside and outside the classroom - thus creating a 1 person- 1 language situation. Comprehensible input is provided in class and through community-based activities and supplemented through specific language activities. (See Clyne, 1991:127)

In some schools the LOTE classes are organised according to the language background of the children; those with a home background are in a different class from those without a home background. Other schools do not do so for demographic or philosophical reasons. Some of the programs for mother tongue speakers of languages other than English are bilingual, with often a predominance of L1 in the first few years and a phasing down of the language once English is mastered, but with opportunities to maintain the L1 in language classes. In this project we are focussing on children without a home background in the LOTE and are considering the 'home background' children as an important part of the sociolinguistic environment of the second language learner.

There are a small number of immersion programs in Melbourne. One of these, a late immersion program in Hebrew starting in year 7, is being studied in a joint project of the National Languages Institute of Australia Language and Society Centre at Monash University and the National Languages Institute of Australia Language Testing Centre at Melbourne University. (See Eisikovits and McNamara 1990,1991)

This project deals with selected programs in four languages chosen in consultation with the Victorian Ministry of Education. The languages studied are Chinese, German, Greek and Italian.

In Victoria in 1988, there were 388 language-object programs and 18 content-based programs at primary school level in these four languages. (See Table 1)

AIMS OF THIS PROJECT

Chinese

This section of the project attempts to compare and contrast the

success of Chinese programs operating in areas in which there is a high population of people from Chinese-speaking backgrounds with areas which do not have such a population, and assess the effects of grouping second language learners in separate classes or with children from Chinese-speaking backgrounds.[2]

Greek

We are attempting to assess grouping children with and without a home background in the language and to determine the role of Greek-background children on the Greek competence of second language learners in the same school or class.

Italian

In this section of the project we are comparing the processes and outcomes in language-object and content-based programs.

An attempt is made to compare and contrast the above issues in relation to schools in which there is a high population of children from Italian-speaking backgrounds with those which do not have such a population.

This study includes an analysis of teachers' code-switching in classrooms employing each of the models.

German

The German section of the project builds on a longitudinal style at primary schools which has yielded a substantial data base which can be used for comparison.

The primary-secondary transition process is examined in two schools fed by different types of primary programs. The appropriateness of secondary school models is examined for children proceeding from different types of primary programs.

Among developments in other states there are for example a number of late immersion programs in Queensland. (See Berthold, 1989 and 1990)

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MODELS AND SOCIOLINGUISTIC ENVIRONMENT OF THE SCHOOLS.

Unless otherwise indicated, the programs under consideration all started in prep. [preparatory year of schooling], and continue throughout primary school.

Chinese

Schools A and B offer content-based programs of 3 hours per week. School A is in a prestigious area with a high proportion of the population being from a Chinese speaking background. One third of the children at school A are from Chinese speaking homes. The Chinese speaking children are in the same class as the non-Chinese speaking children.

There are few speakers of Chinese at School B or in its surrounding area.

School C is on the edge of a migrant area which has a high percentage of Chinese speakers living in the community. School C has a 3 hour per week language-object program. It also conducts a bilingual program for Chinese-speaking children.

The children we are testing in school C started Chinese in prep., those in school A commenced Chinese studies in grade 4 or 5 in 1990, and those in school B from prep. in 1990.

Greek

Schools A and B are in neighbouring areas. In the 1986 census, local government figures for the area indicate that this area has the highest proportion of Greek speaking people in the metropolitan area of Melbourne.

In school A the children from Greek speaking backgrounds and those from non-Greek speaking backgrounds are in separate classes. Children have 3 x 45 minute classes per week.

In school B the Greek speaking children are in the same class as the non-Greek speaking children. There are 2 x 1 hour classes per week.

School C is a non-denominational independent school based on the Greek community but which has also a high proportion of non-Greek speaking children. (64 %) The children have 45 minute classes of Greek daily.

Italian

School A is in an area with few Italian speakers in school and the community. It offers a 3 hour per week content-based program.

School B is in an area which once had a high percentage of Italian speakers. It offers a 3 hour per week language-object program.

School C is in an area which has a very high percentage of Italian speaking people. Approximately 65% of the children attending the school are from homes where a variety of Italian is spoken. The school has a 1 hour per week second language-object program.

German

School A is in an area in which German speakers are the largest non-British ethnic group. However there are not many German speaking children at the school. School B is in a district with a low proportion of German speaking residents.

School A has 2 primary feeder schools, A1 and A2. School A offers a follow-on to the content-based program in school A1 (a program of generally 5 hours per week with clearly defined subject areas.) School A2 (3 hours per week) has less clearly defined subject areas.

School B has a language-object follow-on program. Feeder school B1 offers a content-based program of 4 hours per week. B2 unlike the other programs starts in grade 2 (not in prep.). The program is language-object based in grades 2 and 3, and has a small amount of content-based instruction in grades 4 to 6.

TESTING AND RESULTS

Tests have been conducted so far in listening, speaking reading and

grammar in Chinese, Greek and Italian, and in listening, speaking, reading, writing and grammar in German. Generally most of these tests were administered to all the children in the respective classes. However, only a sample of children were tested in oral proficiency. In selecting the content of these tests, the curriculum followed by the teachers was taken into account. The tests have been administered by field workers with native or near native competence in the respective LOTE.

The data overwhelmingly suggest high attainment in listening comprehension at all levels, but difficulties with grammatical accuracy. Our findings agree with Swain's research, " In traditional teaching of content, however, the language the teacher uses may be functionally restricted in certain ways; correction of content takes precedence over correction of form in order to preserve the communicative flow; correction of form that does occur is inconsistent in its message, and students' opportunities to engage in extended discourse are limited." (Swain, 1991:243)

There is evidence of a slow progression within the development of grammatical phases. (See Clyne, 1986: ch.5, Reich 1986 and Swain, 1991)

Chinese

The children tested are those of junior levels (Grades Prep [preparatory year of schooling], 1 and 2) at school B and C and senior levels (Grades 5 and 6) at schools A and B. Because the three schools started Chinese at different times or in different grades, two sets of tests have been administered.

The test results suggest that children from schools in areas where there is a higher population of native speakers (i.e schools A and C), tend to obtain better scores in the listening comprehension test. Children from schools with a lower population of Chinese speakers (i.e. school B), consistently perform better in oral tests (in both oral reading and oral responding tests). The results indicate that demographical factors may contribute to the

success of listening comprehension skills, but not to oral proficiency, during the first two years of learning. The results also suggest that good teaching strategies and the positive attitude towards the language can be important attributes of success. (See Swain and Lapkin 1982:84-85).

The results from the latest oral tests indicate that it is possible for second language learners who have studied Chinese for two years to acquire the general classifier *ge*, the perfective aspect marker *le*, a complete noun phrase with colour term, and to use complete sentences for answers. Children tend to answer alternative questions (i.e. questions formed by V-*bù*-V or by the coordinator *háishi*) much better than information questions (i.e. questions formed by question words, such as *what, how* in English).

The majority of the children who had the oral reading and oral responding tests are able to initiate and react appropriately to greeting, thanking, leave-taking, introducing self or others, expressing good wishes, and information about personal details. They also know how to express apology, lack of comprehension, and react to questions about personal likes and dislikes and simple information questions. Like most second language learners, their comprehension precedes and exceeds production.

Although the time of exposure to the Chinese language is the same across the three schools, children at school B might have more Chinese input and more opportunities to speak Chinese in the classroom than the others, as the class always commences with a casual conversation in Chinese between the teacher and the children. Furthermore, in the class, children often break into smaller groups for discussion and the better learners served as the group leaders or the linguistic models. In addition, the same group had a character quota test every week.

The results of class observations suggest that a separate language program is required for native speakers: while children with and without Chinese backgrounds continue to be catered for in the same class, children with a home background in the language

are likely to be distracting sources as the level of the language is far from motivating and does not appear to challenge them.

Greek

In schools A and B, grades 2, 4 and 5 have been tested. In school C, grades 2, 3 and 4 have been tested. A sample of children from each of the respective classes was given oral proficiency and listening comprehension tests. In addition to the oral and listening tests, children from the higher grades were also given tests in grammar and writing.

From our research so far, it appears that the children's results are influenced by the choice of language code used by the teacher as the medium of instruction, and this is linked with the teacher's background and set of expectations.

The teacher in school A speaks Greek for approximately 40% of the lesson whereas the teachers in schools B and C speak English in the classroom for approximately 80% and 90% respectively. The children in school A have performed better in all of the tests so far.

The results of the tests show that the children from school A have shown better oral, listening and writing skills. These children were able to produce a number of sentences in Greek, while in school B the children only wrote single Greek words in otherwise English sentences. In school C, where more emphasis is placed on comprehension than on production, oral proficiency is not quite as high, and their writing was not sufficiently developed to be tested.

Italian

Children from grades 3, 4 and 5 at schools A , B and C have been tested in the areas of listening, speaking, reading comprehension and grammar.

As might be predicted, the children whose teachers require them to speak the target language generally have a higher level of oral proficiency (Schools B and C).

There was little difference between the three schools in the listening comprehension, with all children achieving very high results.

In programs where grammar is emphasised as in some language-object based programmmes, in school C and to some extent school B the children in grades 4 and 5 have a better grasp of the grammatical structures.

However, of the children in grade 3, the children from the content-based program (school A) performed better.

The results seem to indicate that the consistent use of the target language (comprehensible input) by the teacher enhances the children's acquisition of the LOTE. This factor combined with encouragement from the teacher for the children to speak the LOTE further enhances this.

Exposing children to a wider range of concepts and subjects in the LOTE, as in content-based programs, seems to require more hours per week than is currently provided.

The community and the use of home background speakers as a model of the target language appears to enhance further the comprehensible input for the second language learners.

In schools where there is a high concentration of LOTE background speakers, second language learners are provided with the opportunity to see that the target language is used outside the classroom. Peers speaking the target language with parents and/or grandparents picking them up from school add to this situation.

Transition, continuity and attrition: German as Case Study

In general, students from 5-hour per week bilingual programs continued German for longer than those from 3-hour models. They scored better in tests, and were more confident in using the language. Students from the primary school offering 2 years of structured second language teaching followed by a content-based program also scored very highly. Comparisons between these two models cannot be made on the present data, as primary school influences are clouded by those of the secondary schools (usually different in these two cases).

A positive attitude to German seemed to encourage high scores and fluency. Use of the language was also a positive factor, although the students' rationales for their use were of some concern. Those who had German penfriends seemed to feel that this was something which they did because they were learning German, rather than something which learning German enabled them to do. Many students saw no real reason to learn German other than as a VCE subject. Some felt that it might be of use in "getting a job" or give them something "to study at University" and a few wanted to travel and thought German might be useful. Of those students who used the language, only a few actually spoke with Germans. Some students spoke it with one another, particularly to exclude others from their conversation, whether these were their parents or friends.

Where German was exclusively, or almost exclusively, used in the classroom, students' answers contained more German and less English, and seemed more likely to be complete sentences.

Circumstances caused one of the secondary schools to group together a number of different disparate categories of students after year 8. This affected the outcomes adversely.

Students and teachers felt it was better to separate the bilingual students from the beginners in secondary school. Teachers felt that having to cater to both groups at once added stress to the classroom and to their lesson planning, and that such classes were of limited value to each group. Students resented attempts at such mixing, feeling that the mixed classes were either too hard or too easy, depending on the group to which they belonged. Such mixing was felt to lead to resentment, and a lack of enthusiasm to continue with the language.

Both groups were seen to have different needs, not just with the level of language instruction but also with the types of instruction needed. Students from primary German programs generally had a much larger vocabulary and therefore a higher level of comprehension than those who began German at secondary school. On the other hand, students beginning German in high school were less likely to use English loans or to code-switch, and had a better grasp of the limitations of their language ability.

Actual classroom behaviour did not vary significantly between the bilingual and the beginners' classes, although the levels of German spoken for continuing students were in general higher.

Our study of students who had taken German at primary and secondary school and who have not learnt German for two years, indicates that those who were using the language in a non-school environment had retained it best. Even minimal usage had positive effects on the students' confidence in German and also in their general fluency. Where students used the language regularly (for example: "I speak German with my girlfriend and her family who are German"; "I babysit for a German family who don't speak much English"), their language ability was not lost at the same rate.

One student's scores on identical tests actually improved over time! This is an example of residual learning whereby a pause in the learning process may reduce certain problem areas. (See Cohen, 1975)

Our data confirm the earlier indications (Clyne, 1986) that students beginning the language in grade 3 may be more successful than those beginning in grade 1. These data are concerned with only a small proportion of the students, and only 2 separate cohorts of students, so is questionable. The limited evidence available does show that either a content-based or a language-object program can be suitable to follow on a range of primary school models.

The German teachers at the high schools we visited commented that they are frequently surprised by their students' levels of ability. They saw a distinct difference between teaching the beginning students and those continuing from a primary program. They felt that an understanding of the principles of bilingual education was essential to the success of their programs, and that where a teacher had doubts about the effectiveness of the program, the usefulness of their teaching would suffer as a result. As a result of these concerns, they expressed a strong need for further teacher training on bilingualism and bilingual education.

Although there are many primary school second language programs, there are comparatively few follow-on transition programs. The lack of transition programs ultimately affects the

level of attainment that one achieves in the second language. For example, after studying the LOTE for seven years at primary school, many of the children proceed to a secondary school in which the LOTE is taught from the beginning. It would seem that more liaison is required between the primary and secondary school sectors in order to rectify this situation.

CODE-SWITCHING

We are using the term code-switching to mean the alternating use of two languages; for example, a conversation begins in language A then switches to language B in the course of the interaction.

In our study the teachers in the school communities in which there are a high proportion of the target language speakers seem to have more instances of code-switching occurring.

Code-switching may be used for discourse purposes and has a range of functions, including recapitulation, explanation, emphasis and exemplification. Teachers may use code-switching for any of these purposes.

Examples -

Recapitulation	Allora, hai vinto tu ? You won ? (Well then, you won ? You won?)
Explanation	Alt it is only an egg. (Stop, it is only an egg.)
Emphasis	Aspetta right grade 5 it's obvious that you're not listening.) (Wait right grade 5 it's obvious that you're not listening.)

In our study we have found instances of code-switching and of code-mixing occurring in all of the languages. Some teachers switch codes to reinforce an idea and some teachers code-switch to discipline children.

Some teachers code-switch because they may have low expectations of the students' ability to comprehend the LOTE.

Although the amount of code-switching and code-mixing

varies in degree in each of the schools, it has not been found to lead to a breakdown in communication.

ATTITUDES: CHILDREN AND TEACHERS

All of the LOTE teachers were interviewed separately by the field worker.

All the teachers expect their pupils to read and write simple sentences, and to be able to hold a simple conversation in the LOTE. The teachers also indicated that they would like the children to have an understanding of the culture.

The teachers' expectations were generally reflected in the choice of code in the classroom discourse. It was found that teachers who expect the students to attain at least a high level of comprehension speak the target language more than English in the classroom.

The majority of students enjoyed learning a LOTE, and many of them indicated that they would like to learn more languages.

ISSUES PERTAINING TO THE MODELS AND ENVIRONMENTS IN THIS STUDY

It has been observed that teacher expectations have a major influence on the choice of language used in the second language classroom. Pessimistic expectations often result in the use of English as the language of instruction. This produces a lower amount of exposure to the target language, and therefore the input is reduced.

There is a vicious circle which operates in some programs in which the teacher has low expectations. The teachers think that the children cannot understand the second language so they speak English, consequently the children have less exposure to the second language and the students' ability to comprehend and produce the second language is hindered. It is ironic that many of these teachers have a set of rules/instructions which are only said in the target language. Where the target language is used as the

language of discourse more time can be spent concentrating on the second language by the teacher.

Language teachers who have optimistic expectations about their students' abilities often exclude the use of English from the classroom. Students are both encouraged and expected to interact in the target language.

In some programs the teachers may switch between English and the target language yet expect the students to speak only the target language.

Children who are left to cut and paste with little intervention from the teacher, and who are neither expected nor encouraged to speak the L2 may soon realise that they do not need to speak the L2, and where a translation is provided, they do not need to comprehend the L2 either. This in turn frustrates the children and they switch off.

Children do not need to try to understand the second language in those programs where the use of translation occurs since an English equivalent will be provided for the children. Where rote learning is employed, unanalysed forms of language appear. Production lags behind comprehension, and grammatical development tends to progress slowly.

Few students are given a challenge in these types of situations. The children do not need to concentrate in the second language when an English translation is readily given. To many of the children, it may seem that there is little purpose in their learning a second language. This in turn affects their attitude to learning the LOTE. Many children switch off after about three years of learning the second language.

In programs where the LOTE is the medium of instruction, the children are challenged to think in the second language. The answers are not provided for them in English. The children need to keep up with the teacher in order to understand the lesson, and in this way are encouraged to participate in, and learn the LOTE.

Not only quantity but also quality of input is vital in the acquisition of the LOTE. That is to say, the consistent use of the LOTE by the teacher and where possible the students, results in most of the children achieving a reasonable degree of proficiency

in the second language. For example, it has been observed that it is not simply a matter of teaching the LOTE for more hours and insisting that the teachers speak the second language. In content-based instruction, it is important that the comprehensible input is constantly provided to form a basis for the children's own production in the language.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

So far our data seem to suggest that the community does play a role in the children's acquisition of the L2.

The teacher may call upon the home background speakers to model the L2 and therefore are providing the second language learner with another model. Their presence in the classroom may have a positive effect on the motivation levels of the L2 learners. The L2 learners have the opportunity of hearing the L2 being spoken by other people in the community. This brings the L2 out of the textbooks and classroom and into their world. This applies only if the children with a home background in the language are regarded as a resource. In Chinese the listening comprehension skills have been best in schools where there are numbers of Chinese speakers.

Programs in which the children have relatively high levels of speaking and understanding share several features:

Progress conclusions

- realistic teacher expectations - challenging and motivating the students, not underestimating their capabilities (cutting and pasting with minimal exposure to the second language is more or less time wasted)
- consistent use of target language
- positive attitude of and support from teaching staff
- support from generalist staff in the school
- support from parents and community

Functional specialisation, communicative need and comprehensible input are the three prerequisites for good LOTE programs, regardless of whether they are content-based or language-object programs.

With purely non-verbal activities such as cutting and pasting, there is no comprehensible input unless a teacher intervenes. Where a teacher uses English 80% of the time, there is no communicative need for the LOTE. And if the same teacher speaks the target language and English some of the time, there is no functional specialisation.

Implications

Care must be taken to ensure that sufficient comprehensible input is available in content-based programs with a limited allotment of time. In later year primary school programs, more attention may need to be given to grammatical sensitisation.

Language teachers, their colleagues and school administrators must fully understand the program model followed by the school and its practical consequences. As teacher expectations of the program are crucial, such issues need to be discussed more centrally in teacher training and in-service courses.

NOTES

1 Our thanks are due to the schools, teachers and educational bodies who are helping with this research. We thank also Bee Chin Ng for her advice in the Chinese section of the project.

2 However, a parallel study of the Chinese development of the Chinese-speaking students in school A is underway.

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LANGUAGE POLICY IN THE CONTEXT OF REALIZING HUMAN RIGHTS AND MAXIMIZING NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT[1]

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ABSTRACT

Improved, rational and systematic language policy-making realised through sound language-in-education planning lies at the heart of human development for the 1990's and the next century. This paper provides an overview of language policy-making in Australia and examines national development and human rights as motivating factors in language policy. Language policy is viewed as an activity which is both problem solving and theory-making. The basic problem to be resolved is how to maintain and develop a society's language resources and how to meet the individuals' and the society's language related needs. In a rational language policy all the elements of the policy must be justified and the rationale made obvious.

INTRODUCTION

In the English-speaking world, Australia has been at the forefront in formalizing and adopting a national policy on languages. Indeed, in a survey of language-in-education planning around the world recently undertaken for an article that has appeared in the 1990 edition of the *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, the present writer found that very few published policies could be considered either systematic, rationally argued or coherently structured across a framework of needs, goals, policy, implementation and

LLE (1992) 2,1:78-94

evaluation (Ingram 1989). Most policies, in fact, tend to remain a collection of "good ideas", often "motherhood" statements lacking in rigour and rationale, formulated incidentally to other things (such as immigration policy) or containing good recommendations that founder on implementation practices that pay little regard to quality and lack effective evaluation mechanisms.

BRIEF HISTORY OF LANGUAGE POLICY-MAKING IN AUSTRALIA

Australia did not undertake the task of developing and formalizing language policy with alacrity or evident enthusiasm, at least for a long time. Rather, it was almost forced to confront the necessity after decades of language failure, ad hoc decision-making, a growing feeling of being unable to cope with the rest of its world region, and by sheer economic necessity.

In the 1960's, Australia became conscious of its lack of skills in Asian languages and cultures and the Federal Government commissioned the Auchmuty report on the teaching of Asian languages and cultures (Commonwealth Advisory Committee 1970). Realistically, this report had minimal effect on the language education system, at least if that effect were to be measured in terms of the number of students in the Australian education system actually developing proficiency in Asian languages. Throughout the 1970's there was much interest in the concept of multiculturalism and many well-intentioned statements were made in support of the teaching of so-called community languages. Again, despite the many reports and funded projects, the overall effect on the numbers of students developing skills in languages other than English in Australian schools was negligible and, in fact, enrolment numbers continued to decline. The most positive effect of these developments was on the number of languages represented in the school system: these increased substantially to a point where, by the mid-1980's, there were over thirty and, in the 1990's, about

40 different languages formally taught.

For my own part, after spending much of the 1970's urging schools to introduce languages, talking to school principals and to parent organizations, it seemed to me that nothing would be achieved unless Australia were to formally develop and adopt a national policy on languages so that there was a systematic attempt to identify language needs and to ensure that the whole education system from teacher supply to syllabus development to class teaching was planned to meet them. Consequently, through the Australian Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations and the Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, I started preparing submissions and engaging in other activities to promote the concept of a national policy on languages and of a national languages institute to oversight the implementation of the policy. Initially these proposals were quite literally ridiculed by those who believed that Australian politicians and bureaucrats were too antagonistic to language learning to accept such proposals. Eventually, however, many organizations, many academics and increasing numbers of politicians were talking about the need for a national language policy and, in 1982, the matter of a national policy on languages was referred to the Senate Standing Committee on Education and the Arts which produced a report in December 1984 that eventually led to the formal adoption in 1987 of the National Policy on Languages. Since then all States and Territories have also formalized and adopted their own State or Territory policy on language education. One of the most recent of these is in Queensland where, in 1990, the Centre for Applied Linguistics and Languages at Griffith University was commissioned to advise on a language education policy for Queensland schools. The recommendations made by Glyn John and myself in that report have now been essentially adopted as the blueprint for language policy in Queensland for the next decade. Because the form in which we couched those recommendations was, I believe, significant to the whole activity of language policy-

making, I shall make further reference to that report as I proceed.

NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND HUMAN RIGHTS AS MOTIVATING FACTORS

In Australia, possibly the strongest motive for language policy development has been a realization, first voiced significantly at the National Languages Conference in Adelaide in 1986, that Australian economic development was suffering from the national inability to communicate with and understand potential trading partners, an inability to promote its products in the most effective way possible with trading partners and potential customers, and a failure on the part of industry to develop and offer for sale products that matched the real needs of the overseas buyers. In other words, there can be little doubt that the main stimulus in the last 5 years for language policy development and implementation has been economic but, in addition, and especially in the first half of the 1980's, there was the motivation that arose from realizing that Australia was a multicultural, multilingual and multiracial society, that, if Australia is to benefit in the richest possible way from the cultural and linguistic resources brought here since the late 1940's through the immigration programme, the people had to be educated to understand their society and those who had skills in languages other than English had to be given the opportunity to maintain and develop them.

In fact, this last motivation for national policies on languages had been very strong but uncoordinated in Australia in the 1970's; it had slipped in significance, mainly, I believe, because of the surfeiting that comes from an excess of motherhood statements and insufficient rigour in policy-formulation and implementation - like eating too much honey without the benefit of bread! This issue will, however, assume more salience again in the future, not only in Australia but world-wide, if current activities of the World Federation of Modern Language Teachers Associations (FIPLV) are brought to fruition.

The FIPLV is a UNESCO Status B advisory organization, the international body that unites language teachers in national multilingual associations in, at present, some 65 countries and some 6 international unilingual associations. A major activity of the FIPLV over the last two years has been the development of a Universal Declaration of Language Rights. Significant changes have occurred in the development of policies in many countries (including Australia) as a result of the adoption by the United Nations or one of its related bodies of international declarations on such wide-ranging topics as capital punishment, racial discrimination, human rights, freedom to form trade unions, and so on. It is hoped that the proposed Universal Declaration of Language Rights might have a similar effect.

The Universal Declaration of Language Rights (see AF*MLTA Information BULLETIN*. NO 34, August 1990, pp. 2-7), which FIPLV is in the process of developing for sending on to UNESCO and, hopefully, to the United Nations, essentially recognizes, amongst other things, every child's right to learn another language of his or her own choice. Key clauses in the current (i.e., April 1990) version include:

1. Everyone has the right to be taught, within the provision of Basic State Education, the language of the linguistic group into which he or she is born...
2. Everyone has the right to be taught, within the provision of Basic State Education, either the official language or one of the official languages of that State, according to his or her own choice...
3. Everyone has the right to be taught, within the provision of Basic State Education, at least one further language, chosen from a diversified range of languages, for the specific purpose of enhancing international understanding.
4. Everyone has the right to be taught, within the

provision of Basic State Education, to a level which ensures that he or she can communicate fluently and accurately, orally and in writing, in each of the languages specified [above]...

6. Everyone has the right to learn any language or languages.
7. Everyone has the right to identify with any language, irrespective of its territorial boundaries, and to have the exercising of this right respected...

Additional recommendations suggest that UNESCO and possibly the United Nations will be asked to adopt this Declaration, language rights in all nations are to be monitored, and member associations of FIPLV are asked to seek to persuade their governments to elaborate and implement policies that reflect these language rights. In the Australian context, it is significant that, underlying the Declaration, is the unambiguous assumption that monolinguals are unjustly deprived and must be given the opportunity to increase their language skills and broaden their cross-cultural understanding through learning another language. In addition, the Declaration gives individuals the unambiguous right to select the language or languages that meet their needs or interests and consequently language policy-makers will have to consider how, within the limitations of resources available and the consequent need to set priorities, it is possible to provide the necessary freedom of choice. It is expected that the development of the Universal Declaration of Language Rights will be taken a further step at the forthcoming World Congress on Language Learning to be held in Hungary in August this year, when a special symposium is to be held, with UNESCO support, on languages and human rights.

However, such fine ideals as are espoused in the Universal Declaration of Language Rights will be realised only when they are recognized through well-constructed national and regional language and language education policies and I would like to take

a few minutes to consider the form that such policies desirably should take. Though I will be speaking about theoretical issues that underlie the preparation of language policies, these are illustrated in the recently adopted Queensland language education policy. Regrettably they are not well illustrated in the current national policy on languages adopted in 1987 by the Federal Government and least of all in the review of language policy in Australia represented in the Green Paper recently released by the Federal Minister for Employment, Education and Training.

THE NATURE OF LANGUAGE POLICY-MAKING

Policy-making is decision-making or problem-solving, i.e., it entails making decisions about languages, about language learning, about how to satisfy the language-related needs of society and individuals or it entails solving "problems" such as how to maintain and extend the level of skills in certain languages, how to ensure a harmonious and mutually rewarding multicultural society, how to maximize the effectiveness of trade, how to maximize students' intellectual development, and so on. Language policy-making may be either covert, as it was in Australia in the 1970's, or it may be overt, as it has become in Australia through the 1980's, and increasingly around the world.

In the sense of being problem-oriented, i.e., in that they seek to solve particular language-related "problems" that exist in a society, language policy-making and language-in-education planning are, like their parent discipline of applied linguistics, essentially practical activities but, also like applied linguistics, they are theoretical in the sense of being both theory-based and theory-making (see Ingram (1980) where the nature of applied linguistics has been discussed). Rational policy-making is theory-based in the sense that, like applied linguistics, it draws on the fundamental sciences that inform the problem to be solved. In language policy-making, the contributory sciences include the linguistic sciences (e.g., theoretical linguistics, sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, and so on) but also any other field that informs the language

problem (e.g., political science, demographic geography, psychology, economics, marketing, and so on). The policy-makers' task is to identify and draw on the relevant sciences, seek insights that elucidate the essential nature of the problem, and deduce possible solutions. If this is to occur, then the policy-makers must have available both the theoretical knowledge and the practical experience of the problem situation that make the characteristics of the problem clear and enable them to derive adequate insights and deduce viable solutions. If either their knowledge or experience is inadequate, then their policy and its implementation will be defective. This notion of policy-making must, therefore, lead one to question the "management principle" in decision-making, i.e., the practice popular amongst bureaucrats of putting "eminent persons", political affiliates, "managers", general educationalists, or accountants, into decision-making or policy-making positions rather than experienced and qualified practitioners, relevant academics, or similar experts. This problem is well illustrated in the poverty and confusion of the Australian Government's Green Paper on language policy which was written, apparently, by a task force of three persons in the Federal Department of Employment, Education and Training, two of those three persons acknowledging no expertise in language or language policy.

Policy-making is also "theory-making" because the policy is essentially a theory about the nature of the problem and how to resolve it. National language policy-making, for example, essentially proposes a theory or policy about the nature of the society's language needs at the societal, group or individual levels and how to meet these needs. As a "theory", its validity has to be tested and hence evaluation is an essential (but often omitted) phase of rational policy-making. Because it was largely omitted from the 1987 national policy on languages and hence because there was no significant review and on-going policy development mechanism built into that policy, the Government has found it necessary to promulgate its Green Paper with the expectation of a

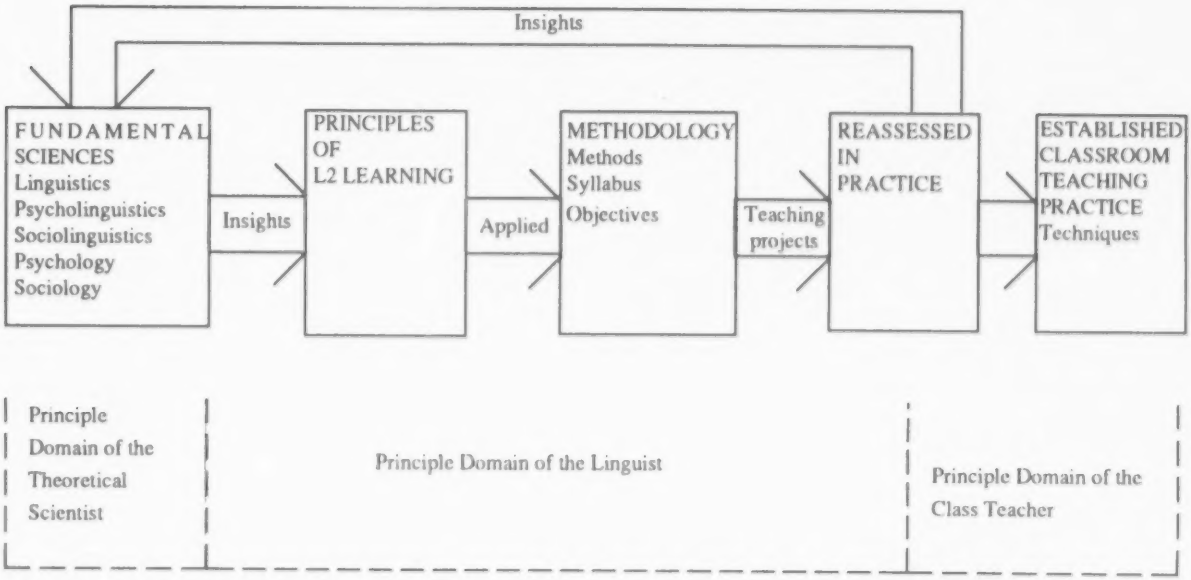

Figure 1: A Model for the Development of Language Teaching Practice (From Ingram 1980:42)

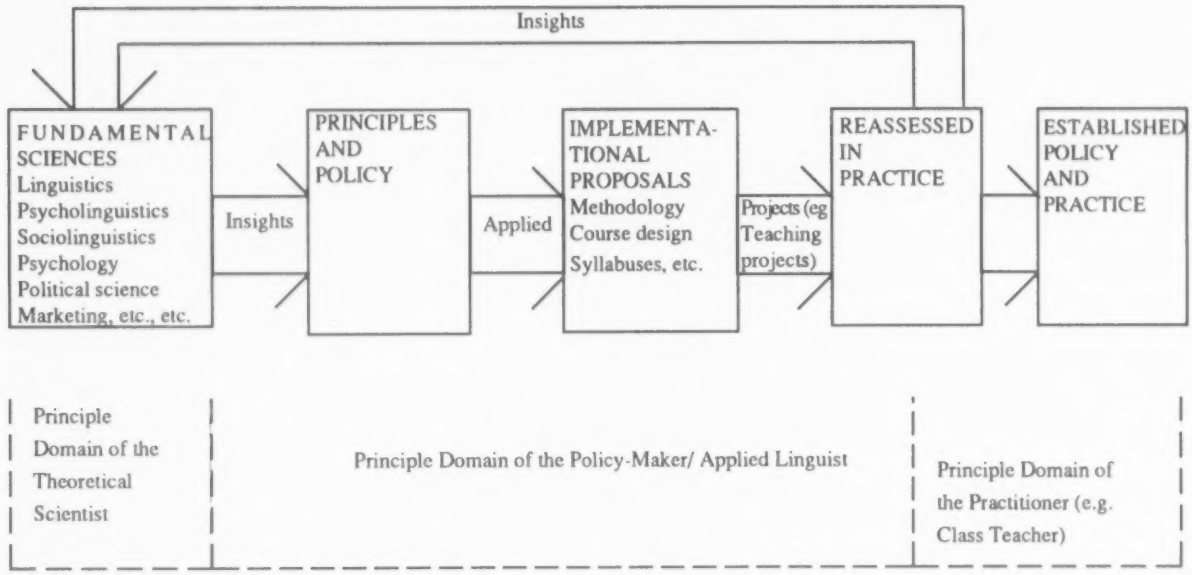

Figure 2: A Model for the Development of Language Policy and Language in Education Planning

White Paper in mid-1991. One effect of this is, rightly or wrongly, to present the Government as resiling from its 1987 policy, and attracting considerable criticism as a result.

Figure 1 illustrates the structure of this process for the parent discipline of applied linguistics. Figure 2 illustrates it for language policy-making or language-in-education planning.

In summary, the rational approach to policy-making entails a rational understanding of the issues involved, the development of insights into the problem to be resolved, thence the postulation of a "theory", "principles" or approach to solving the problem, the clear identification of the ultimate goals to be achieved and the intermediate objectives to be sought, and the implementation steps to be taken. In addition, for the "theory", principles or policy to be tested and for the whole process to be self-correcting of error or inadequacies, it must include an evaluation process as an integral part of the policy-making or decision-making process. This approach is both theory-based and theory-making but it is also research-based in three senses: first, that research is needed to develop the fundamental sciences on which the whole rational process depends; second, that research is needed to identify the nature of the problem to be resolved, the needs to be met, the goals and objectives to be sought, and the methodology or implementation to be adopted; and third, that evaluation, which is research *par excellence*, is an integral part of the process and impacts on all stages from the fundamental sciences to policy formulation and implementation.

THE STRUCTURE OF LANGUAGE POLICY

The nature of language policy-making or language-in-education planning just discussed leads to clear implications for the structure of a rationally developed language or language education policy. The basic "problem" to be resolved is how to maintain and develop the society's language resources and how to meet the society's and individuals' language-related needs. Hence a policy

must be based on the present and changing nature of the society and commence with a description of the features of the society that are relevant in identifying present and future language needs and in identifying the steps to be taken to satisfy them. Thence the policy must specify the goals and objectives that it is seeking to achieve and enunciate the policy proposals. However, idealistic policy statements unrelated to how they can be realised in practice are practically worthless since the very fact that they cannot be implemented suggests that they are based on a deficient analysis of the problem situation; hence, the policy must include actual implementation recommendations that enable each policy proposal to be related to the actual real-life situation and to be realised in practice. Since rational policy is justified and founded in the theoretical sciences and in an analysis of the problem situation and since the implementation proposals must be logically related to the policy proposals and justifiable from an understanding of the nature of language and of the other relevant fundamental sciences, all the elements of the policy must be justified and the rationale must be made obvious. In addition, as already argued, evaluation is an integral part of policy-making both to assess the validity of the contributory sciences on which the insights leading to the resolution of the problem are based and to ensure that the policy proposals and implementation recommendations are justifiable and adequate. Consequently, evaluation is an integral part of the structure of a rational and rigorous policy and leads to the on-going development and fine-tuning of the policy itself. In brief, a rational policy will contain at least the following elements:

- a description of the nature of the society the policy is to serve;
- a statement of needs (both societal and personal);
- policy proposals;
- implementation recommendations;
- indicators of success or the basis for the evaluation of the policy and its implementation;

and

- a summary rationale for the basis of the policy and for each policy proposal and implementation recommendation.

In the Queensland language education policy prepared by Glyn John and the present writer (Ingram and John 1990), the policy document started with a description of the nature of Queensland society identifying, in particular, the following features:

- the multicultural, multilingual and multiracial composition of its population;
- the dominance of English;
- Queensland's economic dependence on foreign trade, its economic integration with the rest of the world especially with non-English speaking countries;
- its excessive reliance in the past on primary products and the need, if it is to be economically secure and successful, to develop its level of so-called "elaborately transformed manufactures"; and
- its vast geographical area and the relative isolation of many of its towns and schools.

This brief identification of the nature of Queensland society led to the identification of certain corollary needs, specifically:

- the need to develop in all Queensland children those attitudes that will enable them to live harmoniously and profitably in the multicultural Queensland and world societies of which they are a part;
- the need for all Queenslanders to have the opportunity to develop English skills to the level of proficiency that meets their needs and

interests and the need to develop skills in English and other languages that will ensure that all persons have access to available services either directly through the language they speak or with the assistance of interpreters and translators;

- the need to produce, promote and market its products in the world markets with maximum marketing effectiveness; and
- the need, in devising language education policy and its implementation, to make recommendations that enable all Queenslanders to have access to the learning of other languages (and specifically the language that meets their own needs and interests) wherever they might be located in the State.

From here, the Queensland language education policy (Ingram and John 1990) goes on to set goals and objectives, identify policy proposals and implementation recommendations, and indicate how the policy's success or failure may be determined.

In order to emphasize the rational nature of the policy and the integration of all its parts, the policy is summarised in a section of considerable theoretical importance called the "Rational Frameworks" which takes all the ninety-four recommendations and sets them in a table with interrelated columns headed:

- Needs (Societal and Individual)
- Goals and Objectives
- Policy Recommendations
- Implementation Proposals
- Indicators of Success
- Rationale

CONCLUSION

The intention of this paper has been to discuss ways in which language policy-making and language-in-education planning can be made more rational, systematic, progressive and needs-related and to emphasize that they must be made more rigorous if they are to serve the dual, indeed complementary, ends of human rights, especially language rights, and national development.

Although languages have been taught and learned as second and foreign languages for thousands of years, it has been only recently that formal and systematic language policy-making seems to have evolved. This may reflect, to some extent, the fact that the learning of other languages is such an integral part of ordinary everyday life in most of the world that it does not require discrete formalized policy-making, except where a language such as English, by virtue of political and economic accidents of history, assumed linguistic hegemony to the disadvantage of the people in the English-speaking countries. In addition, however, there have been increasing pressures on languages and on educational and social systems as a result of easier transport, improved communications, the lowering of political barriers between nations, increased world trade and the economic interdependence of nations, and much increased migration and tourism. Probably another factor has been the development of applied linguistics and, in particular, language proficiency measurement, the latter being significant because it has enabled planners to measure resources and needs and set meaningful targets. As applied linguistics continues to develop and provide the tools that language policy-makers need and as the external forces stimulating language policy development continue and inevitably escalate, we can expect further development in language policy-making, more informed and rational language-in-education planning, and hopefully more systematic and effective language teaching.

These are not, of course, just idealistic hopes whose sole value lies in academic niceties since, first, we are now seeing examples of rational language policy-making and language-in-

education planning starting to emerge and, in any case, in proposing such policies, we are ultimately seeking a world that is characterised less by conflict and the mobilization of armaments, such as we have seen in recent months, and more by international and inter-cultural understanding and tolerance. It is easy, expensive but useless for the world's peoples to spend billions of dollars in destroying each other with armaments; such actions lead to less understanding, indeed to deliberate misunderstanding and misrepresentation by politicians on all sides who have to convince the people to support their games. The only answer to world peace, apart possibly from the teachings of the great religions, is through informed language policy-making leading to informed language-in-education planning, high quality language teaching, and the gradual development in each generation of an ability to identify with others whatever their culture and language, the ability to understand and accept others. That, as Saint-Exupery has said, is the hard lesson: it is easy to create weapons and throw them at each other; it is much harder to accept that the only answer to world peace, security and international understanding and progress is through language education and the gradual accretion in all people of an ability to understand and accept others, an understanding which can come only through stepping into their culture for a time and seeing the world through their eyes. In Saint-Exupery's words, which open the Foreword of the Queensland language education policy:

> Il est tres simple: on ne voit bien qu'avec le coeur.
> L'essentiel est invisible pour les yeux.
>
> Mais, pour voir, il convient d'abord de participer. Cela
> est dur apprentissage.

In brief, improved, rational and systematic language policy-making realised through sound language-in-education planning lies at the heart of human development for the 1990's and the next century. We are starting to see emerge those techniques that will

ultimately maximize that development, improve intercultural and international understanding, and hopefully minimize world conflict.

NOTES

1 Address to the meeting of international UNESCO experts, Mt Gravatt Campus, Griffith University, 20 March, 1991.

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